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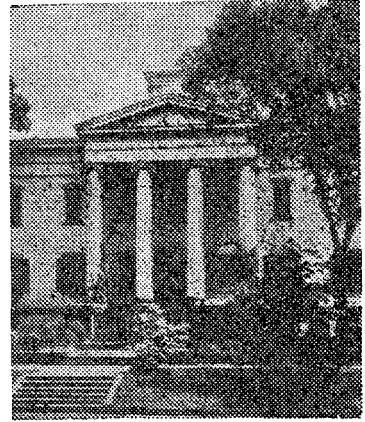
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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James Madison and His Times

IRVING BRANT

IN a recently published magazine article on the life portraits of James Madison, the following statement is quoted from the biographer of Charles Willson Peale: "Peale painted Jefferson in December, 1791. He tried to paint 'coming men' for his gallery, and in selecting them relied mostly on the advice of those whose judgment he trusted. It is a fairly safe supposition that Jefferson recommended Madison for this honor."¹

Why should it be assumed that Jefferson was the one who recommended Madison? The Philadelphia painter had many contacts with Frenchmen. Might he not have heard that French Minister Luzerne, seven years earlier, had described Madison as the foremost member of the Continental Congress?² Could he not have heard, from almost anybody in public life, that Madison was at least the godfather of the new Constitution? As a Philadelphian, Peale might have heard the complaint of Senator Maclay of Pennsylvania in 1789 that Madison "already affects to govern" President Washing-

¹ Quoted by Theodore Bolton in "The Life Portraits of James Madison," *William and Mary Quarterly*, VIII (January, 1951), 28-29.

² Chevalier de la Luzerne, "Liste des Membres du Congrès depuis 1779 jusqu'en 1784," Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Etats-Unis, vol. 1, ff. 253-87.

ton.³ The recommendation might even have come from Madison's principal adversary in Congress, Fisher Ames, who wrote of him in that same year: "He is our first man."⁴

In rejecting the supposition that Madison needed sponsorship in 1791, I do not mean to disparage Mr. Sellers, the author of the very excellent life of Peale. The biographer of an artist, when he deals with statesmen, naturally relies on the verdicts of historians and political biographers. Why should he not suppose that Jefferson was responsible for Madison's inclusion in the portrait gallery, when everything else in his life—his education, his political and constitutional opinions, his career in public office; everything you can think of, except, perhaps, his birth—has been placed to Jefferson's credit? In making this comment, I should at once point out some conspicuous exceptions. There is nothing like this in Dumas Malone's life of Jefferson, nor in Miss Koch's studies of the philosophy and letters of Jefferson and Madison. I might add that according to some reports, Douglass Adair's doctoral thesis at Yale was so favorable to Madison that it almost paralyzed some of the examining professors.

Pick out at random a dozen histories of the double decade ending in 1800. In how many of them will you find a factual basis for the statements of Luzerne and Fisher Ames? In how many will you find that Madison laid the foundations of the Democratic party, by his opposition to Hamilton's funding system, while Jefferson was still on his way from the American legation in France to the cabinet of President Washington? In how many will you learn that, as late as 1795, Federalists in Congress were calling their opponents "the Madisonians"?⁵

For an example of the way history has been perverted to support a preconception, consider this extract from Beveridge's *Life of Marshall*, dealing with events of 1793: "Jefferson was keeping pace with the anti-Nationalist sentiment of the masses—drilling his followers into a sternly ordered political force. 'The discipline of the [Republican] party,' wrote Ames, 'is as severe as the Prussian.'"⁶

Compare that with what Ames actually wrote: "... the discipline of the party is as severe as the Prussian. Deserters are not spared. Madison is become a desperate party leader, and I am not sure of his stopping at any ordinary point of extremity."⁷

³ *The Journal of William Maclay*, ed. Edgar S. Maclay (New York, 1890), July 1, 1789, p. 97.

⁴ Fisher Ames to George R. Minot, May 3, 1789, *Works of Fisher Ames*, ed. Seth Ames (Boston, 1854), I, 36.

⁵ Ames to Minot, Jan. 20, 1795, *ibid.*, I, 165.

⁶ Albert J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall* (Boston, 1916-19), II, 81.

⁷ Ames to Thomas Dwight, January, 1793, *Ames*, I, 127.

Beveridge, I am sure, did not intend to distort. He merely reshaped the material to fit the distortions of earlier writers. These he brought to a magnificent climax of his own, brilliantly epitomizing a hundred years of error, in the statement that Madison was the valley between the mountain peaks of Jefferson and Hamilton.⁸

To a great extent this impression reflects the interplay of hero and devil worship. Until the American people subscribe to Confucianism, there is no possibility that they will deify James Madison. As long as half of them look upon Jefferson as a god and Hamilton as a devil, while the other half sees them in opposite roles, there is little likelihood of building a really commodious American Pantheon. What has actually happened is that a fairly level Jefferson-Madison-Hamilton plateau has been converted into two mountains and a valley by the unremitting activities of cairn-builders and rock-throwers. Some political geologists are beginning to suspect that this plateau, instead of being depressed in the middle, may originally have had a few bulges upward there.

Disparagement of Madison as a supposed satellite did not begin with historians. It began as a defense mechanism of Federalist politicians. During the formation of the new government, Madison and Hamilton were linked in the public mind. They were the outstanding advocates of the Constitution, and a few close friends knew them as joint authors of the *Federalist*.

When the great political cleavage came, in 1790, it was a direct break between Madison and Hamilton. Madison delivered his opening speech against Hamilton's financial system on February 11, 1790. On that day, in that speech, the wheels of Hamiltonian federalism and Jeffersonian democracy started rolling down the political highway.

Jefferson did not even know this was going on. The debate was over, the vote was taken, the fundamental cleavage in American politics was indelibly recorded, four weeks before he arrived at the capital to enter Washington's cabinet. Now that implied no defect in Jefferson's principles or in his perception. It was no reflection on him that a letter telling him of Hamilton's report on public credit took nineteen days to reach Monticello.⁹ But there were reasons, deep in human nature, why neither Federalists nor Jeffersonians could admit that Madison laid the cornerstone of the Democratic

⁸ "He [Madison] was easily influenced by such lordly wills as Hamilton, easily seduced by such subtle minds as Jefferson. Thus his public service was a series of contradictions, compromises, doubts and fears. . . . Between those tremendous mountain peaks of power, Hamilton and Jefferson, standing over against each other, Madison was the valley." Albert J. Beveridge, quoted in the Madison volume of "Autographs of the Presidents," Morgan Library, New York.

⁹ Madison to Jefferson, Jan. 24, 1790, *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1900-10), V, 434; received February 12, Epistolary Record, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

party and continued to be an independent, creative force in its development.

During the ensuing years, it became apparent that between Jefferson and Madison there existed perfect harmony of feeling and a close correspondence of political views. Each time the basic issue arose in some new form, Madison took the lead in Congress, Jefferson in the cabinet, both working to the same end. The Federalists, tied up with rich speculators, were under constant compulsion to deny the moral flaws in their own position. They must see themselves, they must be seen, as the representatives of morality, intelligence, and respectability. On that score, Madison's opposition was far more distressing than Jefferson's. It was easy to endow Jefferson with diabolical traits, especially after the six years he had spent in Paris, the devil's paradise. But Madison was beyond the reach of ordinary attack. The principal architect of the new Constitution could not be suspected of a malicious desire to tear it down or to ruin the national credit which he had been working for ten years to establish. How could it be explained to the public that a man of his acknowledged wisdom, stability, and integrity was on the wrong side? That proved quite easy. He had gone over to please Jefferson. A good man had been seduced by Satan.

So said Hamilton, though he knew it was not true. So said a hundred others, and believed it.¹⁰ But that was just the beginning. Once this explanation was given, Madison's character had to be reshaped to make it credible. A little earlier, he had been accused of twisting George Washington around his fingers. Jefferson was still in transit when Madison's challenge of the money power inspired a Massachusetts newspaper writer to exclaim: "Happy there is a Madison who fearless of the bloodsuckers will step forward and boldly vindicate the rights of the widows and orphans, the original creditors and the war worn soldier."¹¹

Bold? Fearless? That did not fit the new story. What sort of man would change his political convictions to please a friend? Only a soft-willed man, a weak and timid man. So Madison was pictured as the submissive errand boy of Thomas Jefferson, perverting his intellectual genius to political purposes alien to his mind. Federalists dared not admit that Madison had sacrificed his dominant position in Congress, sacrificed his influence over President Washington, for the sake of principle. So they made a double assault—an assault on Jefferson for political immorality and on Madison for weakness and timidity.

¹⁰ Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, May 26, 1792, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Henry Cabot Lodge (New York, 1904), IX, 528-29.

¹¹ *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), Feb. 24, 1790.

The technique of the big lie, the big smear, was not invented in our day. It was brought to perfection against Jefferson and Madison, but with differing results. Madison was admired, for his mental endowments, by friends and foes alike, and he made warm friendships. But he had no political glamour. Jefferson, a symbol as well as a leader of democracy, had personal qualities which made people either worship or hate him. His admirers threw back the slanders against him. Did they likewise reject the perverted picture of Madison? On the contrary they made it their own, and thereby placed Jefferson on a still higher pedestal. So there you had both Federalists and Democrats, for totally different reasons, agreeing on a characterization of Madison which was not only unsupported by the record but was refuted by it at every turn.

At this point, historians and biographers took over from the politicians. The big lie became the lasting misconception. The historians had testimony from both sides that Madison drew his ideas from the master of Monticello and did what he was told to do. If everybody said it, it must be true.

Let us see how this operated in the fight over federal assumption of state war debts. The conventional story is that about June 20, 1790, Hamilton and Jefferson made a trade. Jefferson agreed to assumption in exchange for the national capital on the Potomac, and induced Madison, his henchman, to help it through Congress. Apply the chronological test to that story of events in 1790, and what do you get?

March, 1783—Madison, in the Continental Congress, proposed federal assumption of state debts.¹²

July, 1783—Madison proposed a national capital on the Potomac.¹³

February, 1790—Madison spoke against *unqualified* assumption.

March 2—Madison proposed a qualified assumption, which the Hamiltonians rejected.

March 20—Jefferson returned from his diplomatic exile.

June 17—Madison wrote to a friend that to save the whole funding bill from defeat and national credit from destruction, assumption probably would have to be admitted in some form, and the Potomac might show up in the business.

June 20—Hamilton and Madison, brought together by Jefferson on Hamilton's initiative, agreed to a compromise—the national capital on the Potomac,

¹² Irving Brant, *James Madison, II: The Nationalist* (Indianapolis, 1948), 233; Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 26, pp. 438–40; Notes of Debates, Mar. 7, 1783, *Writings of James Madison*, I, 399.

¹³ Brant, II, 300; Madison to Edmund Randolph, July 28, 1783, *Writings of James Madison*, II, 4.

in exchange for qualified assumption, which Madison had offered three months before without a *quid pro quo*.¹⁴

In other words, both of the basic policies originated with Madison. Both features of the compromise came from him and so did the idea of linking them. All he got out of it was a reputation for weakness and timidity. The valley travailed and brought forth two mountains.

Next came the great conflict over the power to create a national bank. I quote from Beveridge: "Jefferson was already opposing, through the timid but resourceful Madison and the fearless and aggressive Giles, the Nationalist statesmanship of Hamilton. Thus it came about that when Washington asked his cabinet's opinion upon the bill to incorporate the Bank of the United States, Jefferson promptly expressed with all his power the constitutional theory of the Virginia legislature." To this Beveridge affixed a footnote: "and see Madison's argument against the constitutionality of the Bank Act in *Annals*, 1st Congress, February 2, 1791."¹⁵

What would have been the effect if Beveridge had omitted the Virginia legislature, which had no more to do with it than the parliament of Timbuktu, and had stated the simple, chronological truth? This was that Madison launched the attack against the national bank on February 2, and Jefferson, thirteen days later, paraphrased Madison's speech in a report to the President. That couldn't be told. It would have ruined a preconception.¹⁶

Madison was Secretary of State throughout the two Jefferson administrations. You can imagine how contemporary politicians and many historians have treated these eight years. The prevalent practice has been to credit Jefferson with every policy, every action, every document of any importance that came from the State Department. If Madison is mentioned at all, he is the errand boy, the amanuensis, obeying implicitly every order handed to him. One of our standard diplomatic histories does not even mention that Jefferson had a Secretary of State. Another mentions him only once.

Now it happens that a very different appraisal of Madison was recorded in 1806 by a Federalist senator, along with his own conventional one. Senator Plumer of New Hampshire, in his diary, quoted Senator Adair of Kentucky, a Democrat, as saying: "The President [Jefferson] wants nerve—he

¹⁴ Brant, *James Madison*, III: *Father of the Constitution* (Indianapolis, 1950), pp. 306-18. The June 20 date is approximate.

¹⁵ Beveridge, *John Marshall*, II, 71, n. 2.

¹⁶ Feb. 2, 8, 1791, *Annals of Congress* (Washington, 1834), II, cols. 1944-52, 2008-12; "Opinion against the Constitutionality of a National Bank," February 15, 1791, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. A. A. Lipscomb and A. E. Bergh (Washington, 1903-1904), III, 145. Jefferson enlarged Madison's argument by contending that the "necessary and proper" clause of the Constitution restricted Congress "to those means without which the grant of power would be nugatory"—a test which would invalidate any action to which there was a possible alternative.

has not even confidence in himself. For more than a year he has been in the habit of trusting almost implicitly in Mr. Madison. Madison has acquired a complete ascendancy over him." To this the New Hampshire Federalist replied: "I observed that I considered Mr. Madison as an honest man—but that he was too cautious—to fearful and too timid to direct the affairs of the nation."¹⁷

Here, it would seem, was a sharp challenge to historians, especially to those equipped with the instruments of modern scholarship—in this instance, the writings of Jefferson and Madison and their associates and the diplomatic archives of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain. That brings us to Henry Adams, the first historian who tapped these rich sources of information. Adams wrote nine volumes whose effect is to sustain the negative side of both appraisals. His history sustains Senator Adair's conclusion that Jefferson lacked nerve and confidence in himself, and Plumer's opinion that Madison was fearful and timid. Henry Adams leaves it uncertain which of these two weaklings ruled the other, but, employing endless condemnation and an irony far more deadly, he created the impression that between them, in their successive presidencies, they reduced the United States to the depths of national degradation. And what shape was the country in at the end of this period of humiliation? Its area and population, Adams noted, had doubled, and it was on a tidal wave of prosperity and confidence. I quote from his ninth volume:

These sixteen years set at rest the natural doubts that had attended the nation's birth. . . . Every serious difficulty which seemed alarming to the people of the Union in 1800 had been removed or had sunk from notice in 1816. . . . Not only had the people during these sixteen years escaped from dangers, they had also found the means of supplying their chief needs. . . . The continent lay before them, like an uncovered ore-bed.

That was the economic picture. And the national character? I quote once more from Adams:

In 1815 for the first time Americans ceased to doubt the path they were to follow. Not only was the unity of the nation established, but its probable divergence from older societies was also well defined. . . . The public seemed obstinate only in believing that all was for the best, as far as the United States were concerned, in the affairs of mankind.¹⁸

This mighty material and spiritual advance had been brought about, if we may believe Adams, not with the aid of Jefferson and Madison but in spite

¹⁷ William Plumer, diary, Apr. 8, 1806 (Library of Congress), quoted by Charles E. Hill in *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, ed. Samuel F. Bemis (New York, 1927-29), III, 7.

¹⁸ Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, IX, 173, 220, 240.

of their blundering and cowardice. It was the communal product of Mother Nature and the Goddess of Luck, with a little timely assistance from Albert Gallatin, John Armstrong, and John Quincy Adams, Henry's grandfather.

One would suppose that the grotesque inconsistency between Adams' premises and his conclusions would raise suspicion in the minds of his more critical readers. But the magnitude of his research was enough in itself to discourage skeptical inquiry. His conclusions as to Jefferson and Madison were in line with contemporary Federalist verdicts, while the historian himself, though plainly a Federalist in his sympathies, drove away the thought of bias by damning the Essex Junto with a violence he never employed upon the chiefs of administration. So the Adams history has become the accepted classic, virtually unchallenged by historians, biographers, journalists, or statesmen, except in the emotional resentment of admirers of Jefferson. That emotional rebellion, plus the Louisiana Purchase, was enough to lift Jefferson into the lists of great Presidents. Madison was left buried under 750,000 disparaging words, marked with the same stamp of goodness, weakness, timidity, and blundering that was originally placed on him by Federalist politicians to fortify their own self-esteem.

The Adams history, as most people know, is a compendium of documents as well as an interpretation. The factual material has been selected with very little bias, and the interpretations are honest. But isolate the documents from the interpretation and strange results ensue. The documents will support, nay they are likely to demand, a drastically different set of conclusions.

As I read Henry Adams, he was neither partial nor impartial. He was just a solid mass of conditioned reflexes. His Federalist leanings conditioned him against Jefferson and Madison. His family descent conditioned him against every President not named Adams, and against every enemy of President John Adams—against Hamilton and Wolcott, against Pickering and the whole traitorous gang who sabotaged the War of 1812. His life in his father's American embassy during the Civil War conditioned him against British diplomats—against Canning, Castlereagh, and Wellesley. He needed no conditioning against Napoleon and Talleyrand. Among these objects of his dislike, Henry Adams played no favorites. He hit them all whenever their heads came up, and thus achieved the air of magnificent impartiality, with devastating effect upon the capacity of many later historians for independent judgment.

I shall come back to Henry Adams, but first let us pursue a more basic inquiry. Was Madison weak and timid? To what extent was he Jefferson's errand boy, and to what extent did he direct policy, during his eight years as Secretary of State?

The errand-boy assumption runs up against some curious facts. In the summer of 1801, British Chargé d'Affaires Thornton complained to Madison that a certain action by French seamen violated the Anglo-American treaty of 1794. Madison and Jefferson were at their homes in Virginia, and the policy adopted would be put into effect by Gallatin. Madison wrote to Jefferson that the circumstances admitted an easy reply "that the case is not considered as within the purview of the treaty." Jefferson replied that he thought the vessel "must fairly be considered as a prize made on Great Britain to which no shelter is to be given in our ports according to our treaty." But he wanted Madison to feel free to revise this opinion and act as he thought best. Madison wrote at once to Gallatin: "It was readily decided that the treaty of '94 is inapplicable to the case." The President, he said, "has thought, as I do," that the ship should be sent away under a different sanction. And when Madison communicated the decision to Thornton, the British diplomat replied that he found himself "entirely at a loss to comprehend the ground on which the President is pleased to regard the cases . . . as in no manner falling within the provisions of the treaty of 1794." Here you have not only an instantaneous reversal of Jefferson's judgment by Madison, but a total concealment from Gallatin and Thornton that there had been any difference of opinion.¹⁹

There was in fact no basic difference. Thornton was trying to give British prizes a preferred position over French prizes in American ports. Madison realized this. Jefferson did not, but Madison knew that the President would approve in retrospect. This was a minor incident, but consider what it means when applied to Madison's position, character and conduct. Was there weakness? Was there vacillation? Was there timidity? Was there subordination of intellect and will? Was there inferiority of judgment?

Turn now to the most important event and greatest achievement of the Jefferson administration—the Louisiana Purchase. Historians have tried for generations to decide how Louisiana was won. From Henry Adams we hear that Madison invited France to build an empire west of the Mississippi, and that Jefferson had no means of preventing it until the French military downfall in San Domingo made American hostility troublesome to France. "President Jefferson [I quote from Adams] had chiefly reckoned on this possibility as his hope of getting Louisiana; and slight as the chance seemed, he was right."²⁰ From various other commentators, we hear of the diplomatic skill

¹⁹ Madison to Jefferson, Aug. 12 (received), 18, 27, 1801, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. Jefferson to Madison, Aug. 22, 1801, Madison Papers, Library of Congress. Madison to Gallatin (private), Aug. 29, 1801, Gallatin Papers, New-York Historical Society. Edward Thornton to Madison, July 23, Nov. 11, 1801, National Archives, General Records of the Department of State, Notes from the British Legation, II (1796-1803).

²⁰ Adams, II, 54-55.

and relentless pressure of Minister Robert Livingston or of the shrewd and forceful guidance of Jefferson. And we are told by Professor Channing that Napoleon "suddenly . . . threw the province" at the American government, with no credit to anybody else except for catching and holding it.²¹ As to Madison, the only question raised would seem to be: Was he an absolute nonentity, or did he surrender to France, failing even to discern, as Jefferson did, that French defeat in San Domingo held the hope of American success?

There can be no doubt that the wiping out of General Leclerc's army, in the war with Toussaint Louverture, was the crucial factor in the cession of Louisiana. It destroyed the fulcrum of French power in the Western Hemisphere. Now let us trace the American attitude toward Leclerc. His army reached San Domingo in February, 1802. He carried instructions which included this sentence: "Jefferson has promised that the instant the French army arrives, all measures will be taken to starve Toussaint and to aid the army."²²

That promise was made to the French chargé d'affaires, Pichon, in the summer of 1801. Reporting this joyously to his government, Pichon said it relieved him of fears derived from a prior talk with Madison. The Secretary of State, he said, had seemed ready to support Toussaint, and in the same talk had given warning that collision between the United States and France would be inevitable if the latter should take possession of Louisiana from Spain. That, please observe, was in July, 1801, seven months before the French opened their campaign to reconquer San Domingo and nearly two years before Napoleon offered Louisiana to the United States. One month later, Pichon wrote that Madison's San Domingo policy still seemed to be in effect. Six months later he reported that he had complained once more to Jefferson about it, and "I found him very reserved and cold, while he talked to me, though less explicitly, in the same sense as Mr. Madison."²³

Here we have a repetition of the Thornton incident, this time at the highest level of national policy. Madison realized instantly what San Domingo meant. Jefferson did not, but swung over to Madison's policy when the realities were placed before him. The result? The United States allowed American ships to go on trading with the Negro rebels while guerrilla warfare and yellow fever wiped out the army of occupation. That was tough power politics—brutal politics. It did not come from a weak and vacillating errand boy.

²¹ Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, 319 n.

²² *Lettres du Général Leclerc*, Appendix I, 269; Carl L. Lokke, "Jefferson and the Leclerc Expedition," *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (January, 1928), 324, 327-28.

²³ L. A. Pichon to Talleyrand, July 22, Aug. 11, 1801, Feb. 24, 1802, Arch. Aff. Etr., correspondance politique, Etats-Unis, vol. 53, f. 179; vol. 54, f. 161.

Let us jump a year or two. On April 10, 1803, Easter Sunday, Napoleon sent for his finance minister, Marbois. Before Marbois left the palace Napoleon said to him: "I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I mean to cede, it is the whole colony without reserving any of it." It is well known that Napoleon made this decision two days after he read the resolutions of Senator Ross of Pennsylvania authorizing military occupation of New Orleans. But that was not the latest news he had from America. In the course of the talk with Marbois, Napoleon remarked: "The London cabinet is informed of the *resolutions taken* at Washington."²⁴ That means that Napoleon had received the London diplomatic pouch of April 7. He sent for Marbois after reading, in the London *Times* of that date, that the United States Senate had passed a bill to construct fifteen gunboats for use at the mouth of the Mississippi and that Congress was about to authorize the raising of 80,000 men for invasion purposes. Napoleon renounced Louisiana a few hours after he read the following London summary of American policy:

Whether Spain continues in possession of Louisiana, or possession is taken by France, it is no longer doubtful that the deliberations of Congress are in unison with the feelings of the people. . . . The government and people seem to be aware that a decisive blow must be struck before the arrival of the expedition now waiting in the ports of Holland.

This was no thunderclap out of a clear sky. For two years the French legation in Washington had been describing the clouds that were rolling up, and here was evidence that there was lightning in them. It was not merely the danger of British seizure of Louisiana that Napoleon faced—he could have sidestepped that by leaving the country in the hands of Spain. The prospect that confronted him was both a danger and an opportunity—the certain prospect that some day the United States would take the country away from either Spain or France, and the reassuring certainty that they would never let it pass into the hands of Great Britain. These considerations were decisive, provided they were enforced by evidence of American strength and determination. Did Livingston provide that evidence? I quote from his letter of January 18, 1803, to Talleyrand, urging the cession of Florida and part of Louisiana to the United States:

Under any other plan, sir . . . the whole of this establishment must pass into the hands of Great Britain. . . . France, by grasping at a desert and an insignificant town, and thereby throwing the weight of the United States into the scale of Britain, will render her [Great Britain] mistress of the new world.²⁵

²⁴ François Barbé-Marbois, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1829), pp. 298, 301; R. R. Livingston to Madison, Apr. 11, 1803, *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, II, 552 (hereafter cited as *State Papers*). The italics in the quotation are added.

²⁵ Livingston to Talleyrand, Jan. 18, 1803, *State Papers* II, 531. This letter is dated January

Madison had instructed Livingston to assure France that American self-interest forbade either a "voluntary or compulsive transfer" of these provinces from Spain to Great Britain.²⁶ Instead, the minister pictured the United States as supinely submitting to encirclement and domination through a compulsive transfer from France to Britain.

Was it from Jefferson that Napoleon heard of American strength and determination? The President wrote many forceful letters which did not go to the First Consul, and at times made threats which did, but observe what he said at the moment of highest crisis. I quote Pichon's report of what Jefferson said to him on January 12, 1803, explaining the decision made two days earlier to send Monroe to France:

That Mr. Monroe was so well known to be a friend of the Western people that his mission would contribute more than anything else to tranquillize them and prevent unfortunate incidents; that he will be authorized jointly with Messrs. Pinckney and Livingston to treat with France or Spain, according to the state of things, in order to bring the affairs of the Mississippi to a definite conclusion. That the administration would try peaceful means to the last moment and they hoped that France would be disposed to concur in their views for the preservation of harmony.²⁷

Livingston described the effect of this conciliatory attitude upon a promise just given him to confirm American treaty rights at New Orleans: "Unfortunately, dispatches arrived at that moment from Mr. Pichon, informing them

10, 1803, in *State Papers* and "20 Nivose an XI (Jan. 10, 1803)" in the State Department copy (National Archives, Diplomatic Dispatches, France, VIII, enclosure to Livingston dispatch of Jan. 24, 1803) from which it was taken for publication. It is dated January 18 in Livingston's letterbook (New-York Historical Society) and January 18 in a copy in Monroe Papers, VII, Library of Congress. At the end of the original letter (Arch. Aff. Etr., Etats-Unis, Supp., vol. 7, ff. 310-13) is the date 20 Frimaire an XI (Dec. 11, 1802). This cannot be correct because the letter opens with a reference to the closing of New Orleans to American commerce by Spain, news of which did not reach France until January. Arthur B. Darling (in *Our Rising Empire, 1763-1803* [London, 1940], p. 447), observing no signature to the letter, concluded that this was Livingston's December 11 memoir to Joseph Bonaparte, wrongly addressed to Talleyrand by somebody who transcribed it in the foreign ministry. The letter is actually in the handwriting of Livingston's usual copyist, and is signed "Robt R. Livingston," but the faded ink of the signature is almost invisible in the photographic reproduction in the Library of Congress. News of the New Orleans closure reached Livingston on or just before January 7 (Livingston to Joseph Bonaparte, Jan. 7, 1803, *State Papers*, II, 536). Talleyrand learned of it between January 10 and 14 (Talleyrand to General Bernadotte, Jan. 10, 14, 1803, Arch. Aff. Etr., Etats-Unis, vol. 55, ff. 164, 170). The original letter is indorsed as received on 30 Nivose (Jan. 20), which confirms the date of January 18 found on two manuscript copies of it. What happened, apparently, was that Livingston wrote a paragraph about New Orleans and directed his clerk to add the Bonaparte memoir of December 11 to it. The clerk copied it date and all, then noticed the error while preparing a copy for Madison and changed 20 Frimaire to 20 Nivose, both wrong. Minus the opening paragraph, it is, as Darling concluded, the only known text of the memoir to Joseph Bonaparte.

²⁶ Madison to Livingston, Sept. 28, 1801, National Archives, General Records of the Department of State, Instructions to Consular Representatives, I (1800-1806). In the published instructions (*State Papers*, II, 510), the words "from Spain to Great Britain" appear as "from Spain to France," making the whole sentence nonsensical.

²⁷ Pichon to Talleyrand, Jan. 21, 24, 1803, Arch. Aff. Etr., Etats-Unis, vol. 55, ff. 184v, 192.

that the appointment of Mr. Monroe had tranquillized everything . . . they determined to see whether the storm would not blow over."²⁸

Six days later more dispatches arrived, giving Madison's far different account of the reasons for sending Monroe—reasons which "imperatively required that this mission should have a prompt conclusion." Instead of quoting from his veiled threats of war, I present Pichon's comments upon them:

The implicit language of Mr. Madison . . . brings to light ideas too general to be neglected. . . . Louisiana in the first moment of war will answer for the behavior of our administration. . . . The crisis grows greater every day, and we cannot push it into the distant future. . . . I should fail in my duty if I did not tell you that these feelings of concern which Mr. Madison expressed to me are generally felt and that public opinion in the latest circumstances expresses itself at least as strongly and energetically as the government.²⁹

That was the last diplomatic word from Washington before Napoleon read about the fifteen gunboats and 80,000 men. Who put the heat on Bonaparte?

Now let us come back to Henry Adams. I spoke of his charge that Madison invited France to build an empire west of the Mississippi. That amounted to nothing. Adams merely failed to recognize a threat of war in thirteen-letter words like "circumstances" and "eventualities."³⁰ But he was well aware that for two years Madison had been working incessantly against French occupation of the trans-Mississippi country. Ignoring all that, he relied on one cryptic passage in one letter to brand the Secretary of State as a blundering nincompoop.

That was the way Adams operated. Without a particle of mental dishonesty in his makeup, he always searched for the worst and never failed to find it. A British diplomat wrote: "Madison is now as obstinate as a mule."³¹ A man cannot be obstinate as a mule without having that trait show up again and again. It does not show up in Adams' history, even though he quoted that particular statement. There you find that Madison was fretful, he was irritable, he had "a feminine faculty for pressing a sensitive point."³² Always the adjectives imply weakness. There is nothing to account for the fact that, as one foreign diplomat after another took him on, those who were hostile went home in discomfiture. Consider, as the most extreme case, the man who described Madison's obstinacy. Francis James Jackson—"Copen-

²⁸ Livingston to Madison, Mar. 24, 1803, *State Papers*, II, 549; Talleyrand to Livingston, 1 Germinal an 11 (Mar. 22, 1803, misdated Mar. 21), *ibid.*, II, 550.

²⁹ Pichon to Talleyrand, Jan. 24, 1803, Arch. Aff. Etr., États-Unis, vol. 55, ff. 196-98v.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; Adams, II, 54.

³¹ Francis James Jackson, Oct. 26, 1809, quoted in Adams, V, 130.

³² Adams, II, 74; V, 187.

hagen Jackson,"—was the hatchet man of the British Foreign Office. On his arrival at Washington he wrote to Canning that his predecessor had told him "of the most violent things said to him" by President Madison. Erskine, he observed, had turned the other cheek, but "I shall give blow for blow."³³ Jackson delivered one blow and was ordered out of the country.

Let us examine the most damning characterization of Madison to be found in the Adams history—an account by French Minister Turreau of his protest to Madison against the filibustering expedition of General Miranda. General Turreau was a tough guy. He hammered his wife with a club while his secretary played on the French horn to drown her screams³⁴ and he aspired to be just as brutal in diplomacy. "I have never yet beheld a face so cruel and sanguinary as his," wrote a United States senator. On the occasion told of by Adams, he was acting as the agent of Spanish Minister Yrujo, with whom Madison had refused to have any more dealings. I quote from Adams' translation of Turreau's letter to the Spaniard: "I was this morning with Madison. . . . He was in a state of extraordinary prostration while I was demanding" etc., etc.³⁵

It is a vivid picture—Madison collapsing with weakness and fright before the terrible Turreau. Let us look now at the French text. Turreau wrote: "*Il était dans un abattement extraordinaire.*"³⁶ I asked two Frenchmen on the Library of Congress staff to translate that. The first one said: "He was in very low spirits." The second: "He was very dejected." I showed the Adams translation to Ambassador Bonnet and he exclaimed: "How could anybody make a mistake like that?" It could be done, quite readily, by anybody who would also say that to hold a man in suspense means to hang him by the neck. For sixty years, this false picture of James Madison has blackened the canvas of history.

Adams' favorite technique against Madison was the left-hand, right-hand, left-hand punch—condemnation first, then quotation, then condemnation. In 1805, when England was at war with France and Spain, American Minister Armstrong in Paris sent home the "well-considered suggestion," as Henry Adams called it, that the United States take Texas away from Spain by force. Jefferson, Adams writes, "seized Armstrong's idea, and uniting it with his own, announced the result to Madison as the true solution." The United States should first obtain a promise from England not to make peace without

³³ Francis J. Jackson to Canning, Sept. 14, 1809, Foreign Office 353, vol. 60.

³⁴ Register, I, 181, William Plumer Papers, Library of Congress. Ordinarily, Turreau needed no provocation to beat his wife, but in this instance she had just hit him with a flatiron.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 105; Adams, III, 192-95.

³⁶ General Turreau to the Marquis d'Yrujo, Feb. 7, 1806, Archives Hist. Nac. Madrid, leg. 5544 pt. I.

American consent, then Congress should grant the President discretionary authority to make war on Spain. "Here at length," Adams commented, "was a plan—uncertain indeed because dependent on British help, but still a scheme of action." And then Madison knocked it on the head by observing that England was unlikely to bind herself positively not to make peace unless the United States bound itself positively to make war. Madison, Adams commented, "had nothing to propose except negotiation without end."

At this moment news reached America of William Pitt's second coalition against Napoleon. The whole continent of Europe was flaring into battle. International alignments were melting like wax. Madison's reaction opened the way for a one-two-three. Adams began with condemnation: "Upon Madison's mind this European convulsion acted as an additional reason for doing nothing."

Then quotation to prove it. Madison to Jefferson: "I think it very questionable whether a little delay may not be expedient," but meanwhile the United States should order Morales, Casa Calvo, and Yrujo out of the country.

Then final condemnation based on the quotation: "Madison's measures and conduct toward Europe showed the habit of avoiding the heart of every issue, in order to fret its extremities."³⁷

All this because Madison thought a little delay would be expedient before jumping into the Napoleonic wars. Adams' specific complaint was that Madison "disregarded Armstrong's idea of seizing Texas." But when Madison, as President, seized West Florida on the same theory advanced by Armstrong for Texas, that it had been paid for in the Louisiana Purchase, Adams described it as "filching a petty sandheap," an action imbued with force and fraud, and he quoted at length the protesting preachment of a British diplomat against "wresting a province from a friendly power . . . at the time of her adversity." In brief, Madison was damned if he did and damned if he didn't.³⁸

³⁷ Adams, III, 69–74.

³⁸ Adams, V, 309, 315. One's belief that Henry Adams did not distort intentionally is put to quite a strain at finding three distortions on one page (II, 69), all designed to prove that Minister Robert R. Livingston did not think that the portion of West Florida lying west of the Perdido River was included in the Louisiana Purchase until several weeks after the treaty negotiated by him and James Monroe had been signed. Adams wrote: (1) "In the preceding year one of the French ministers had applied to Livingston 'to know what we understand in America by Louisiana'; and Livingston's answer was on record in the State Department at Washington: 'Since the possession of the Floridas by Britain and the treaty of 1762, I think there can be no doubt as to the precise meaning of the terms.'" This alleged answer was actually a comment by Livingston upon a letter from John Graham at Madrid, and concerned ancient French claims to the Ohio country as part of *Louisiane Orientale*. On the query of the French minister Livingston merely wrote: "You can readily conceive my answer." Where would Adams have been if he had quoted what Livingston wrote only two weeks later on the subject really at issue: "I find all the old French maps mark the river Perdido as the boundary between Florida and Louisiana." Livingston to Madison, July 30, Aug. 16, 1802, *State Papers*, II, 519, 524. (2) "He had himself

All through the controversy over West Florida, Adams supported Spain with a zeal which cannot be accounted for by his conviction that there was no merit in the American position. The glee with which he upheld the foreign side of international disputes was in exact proportion to the opportunities they gave him to pillory Madison and condemn Jefferson. Early in 1804, Congress authorized the President to make Mobile Bay part of a customs district. The Spanish minister, Adams writes, sent Madison "a note so severe as to require punishment, and so able as to admit of none. . . . Madison could neither maintain the law nor annul it; he could not even explain it away. . . . The President came to Madison's relief. By a proclamation," he limited the district to places lying within the United States. The proclamation—which Adams condemned as a perversion of a perverse law—was based entirely on the reply Madison already had written to Yrujo, that Section 11 (on Mobile) was subordinate to Section 4, which set up a more inclusive customs district but contained the limiting words, "lying within the United States." If anybody came to anybody's relief, Madison came to the President's, and in doing so, did just what Adams said he could not do—explained away what Yrujo had objected to.³⁹

My final impression is that Henry Adams did not understand the policies of Jefferson and Madison at all. He saw weakness and national humiliation in their failure to go to war over this or that outrage—to war with England over impressment, or to avenge the attack on the Chesapeake; to war with France because of the Berlin and Milan decrees. Jefferson and Madison saw three choices—war, submission, or economic pressure and negotiation while the fast-growing nation gathered basic strength. They chose this third course,

drafted an article which he tried to insert in Marbois' *projet*, pledging the First Consul to interpose his good offices with the King of Spain to obtain the country east of the Mississippi." The article actually covered all Spanish territory "on the continent of North America laying to the east of the river"—a description which did not make the Mississippi the boundary (Monroe Papers, VII, 1270v). Livingston and Monroe jointly asked aid in obtaining "so much of his [the king of Spain's] territories as lay to the east of the ceded territory . . ." Livingston and Monroe to Marbois, May 2, 1803, Arch. Aff. Etr., Etats-Unis, vol. 55, f. 416. (3) "As late as May 12, Livingston wrote to Madison: 'I am satisfied that . . . if they [the French] could have concluded with Spain, we should also have had West Florida.'" This did not refer to the negotiations of Livingston and Monroe, nor to the treaty they signed on May 2, 1803, but was a speculation about what the French might have been willing to do in the previous year, when Livingston made a bid for West Florida and the country above the Arkansas River.

³⁹ Adams, II, 257-63; the marquis of Casa Yrujo to Madison, Mar. 7, 1804, National Archives, General Records of the Department of State, Notes from the Spanish Legation, II; Madison to Yrujo, Mar. 19, 1804, Monroe Papers; *Annals of Congress*, XIII, col. 1253 (the "Mobile Act"). Adams' methods of creating adverse impressions find an illustration (II, 262) in the way he quoted from Madison's letter to Livingston, March 31, 1804, about the belatedness of Yrujo's protest: "The Act had been for many weeks depending in Congress with these sections, word for word, in it; . . . it must in all probability have been known to the Marquis d'Yrujo in an early stage of its progress." The statement would have sounded less like an unsupported conjecture if Adams had not omitted part of it: "as two copies are by a usage of politeness always allotted for each foreign minister here it must in all probability" etc.

well knowing that war was the ultimate and probable alternative. Adams and a host of other writers have construed this course as submission, and have treated the War of 1812 as evidence of its failure.

Go back ten years. Go back to July 7, 1802, and read what Pichon wrote to Talleyrand on that day about the purposes of Jefferson and Madison: "They fear exceedingly to be forced to war, as they go on the principle that they ought not to try their strength within ten years, by which time they count on diminution of debt, growth of population and riches."

This was said in telling of an interview in which "Mr. Madison talked to me with much coolness, much method, and as if he had been prepared." The subject was Louisiana. It should be recognized, said Madison, "that France cannot long preserve Louisiana against the United States." As for other colonies of the European powers—in South America, the West Indies—the United States had no desire to possess them. But, said Madison, by joining England in the next war, they could throw all these distant territories into her hands, and "could without difficulty, in ten years, divide with her . . . all the export and import trade of these colonies."⁴⁰

He was saying, in effect, that England and the United States could handle France at any time, and that in ten years the United States by itself would be strong enough to compel England to abandon its system of colonial monopoly.

For two reasons, and two only, the compulsive system which Madison threatened against both France and England was put into operation against England alone. France escaped it by ceding Louisiana. England brought it on by the blundering obstinacy of Canning, Wellesley, and Castlereagh. And the war started just three weeks short of the ten years Madison allowed for postponement of a showdown.

There is plenty to criticize in the presidencies of Jefferson and Madison. But their weaknesses were in general the weaknesses of the American people. Their major difficulty was one that we can appreciate today—that of living and working in a power-mad world dominated by lunatics. Study the work of Madison in that light, without the distorting shadows of political prejudice, and you will find the clear-cut lines of greatness in it.

I began writing the life of Madison without the slightest suspicion that the prevailing estimates of him were incorrect. Not in the remotest fashion did I suspect that in their political symbiosis, Jefferson might owe as much to Madison as Madison to Jefferson. My interest was in Madison the political philosopher, the architect of the Constitution, the author of the Bill of Rights

⁴⁰ Pichon to Talleyrand, July 7, 1802, Arch. Aff. Etr., Etats-Unis, vol. 54, f. 410.

—fields in which his primacy was universally acknowledged. Everything after 1789 was expected to be anticlimax. That has not proved true. The ultimate verdict upon Madison depends in part upon the future of the American people—upon their continued devotion to liberty, self-government, and personal honor. But, granted this fidelity, I have no doubt of the final verdict. Madison the diplomatist, Madison the President, will be found to measure up to the father of the Constitution. Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt. Move over a little, gentlemen.

Washington, D. C.

Jacques-Louis David, Artist Member of the Committee of General Security*

DAVID L. DOWD

IN reporting to Prince Metternich on the activities of the Jacobins and other dangerous foreign revolutionaries who were then concentrated at Brussels, the Austrian ambassador to The Hague wrote on January 6, 1826: "This reunion of *honnêtes gens* has just suffered a great loss: the famous painter David, the regicide, the intimate friend of Marat and Robespierre is dead."¹ For almost ten years the Austrians had supported the efforts of the French, Prussians, English, and Russians to drive David and other French political refugees from their place of exile in Belgium. Yet David, as artist, had been honored as have few members of his profession. Metternich himself had appointed him to the Fine Arts Academy of Vienna,² the king of Prussia had offered to make David his minister of fine arts at Berlin, and Louis XVIII had continued to purchase the paintings of the exiled artist. But to the end of his life David was regarded as a dangerous revolutionary. The Bourbon government even refused to allow his body to be brought back for burial for fear that his interment on French soil might furnish an occasion for political demonstrations hostile to the monarchy!

Despite all this, David today is regarded as the classic example of a political chameleon who placed his talents at the disposal of succeeding regimes. His contemporaries knew better: friends and foes agreed that David was a partisan of the Revolution from first to last.³ The painter himself remained implacably opposed to the restoration of the Old Regime in France. He never disavowed the principles of 1789, his regicidal vote, or the necessity of the so-called "Reign of Terror." This is clear in the public defense of his own political acts during the Terror which he published during the Thermidorian reaction when silence or evasion might have been more expedient.⁴ In private,

*This study is the result of research in European archives made possible by grants from the American Philosophical Society and the University of Nebraska.

¹ Count Von Mier to Metternich, in Herman T. Colenbrander, ed., *Gedenkstukken der algemeene geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot 1840*, IX (The Hague, 1916), part I, 250. David died December 29, 1825, at the age of seventy-five.

² Richard Metternich-Winneburg, ed., *Aus Metternichs nachgelassenen Papieren*, I (Vienna, 1880), 238-39.

³ See the bibliographical essay and the essay on sources in David L. Dowd, *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution* (Lincoln, 1948), pp. 143-94.

⁴ *Réponse de David . . . aux dix sept chefs d'accusation portés contre lui par les commissaires de la Section de Muséum* (Paris, Prairial, an III [1795], Archives Nationales de France (Paris) (hereafter cited as A.N.), AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 293.

David always maintained that Robespierre and Marat were "virtuous men."⁵ Though Napoleon attempted and, for a time perhaps, succeeded in fascinating him, the artist refused to accept political office, declining a seat in the Senate, and the title of baron. Finally David signed the revolutionary clauses of the Additional Acts at a time when he already knew that the liberal empire was a lost cause.⁶ All these facts should have made historians more cautious in applying the terms "chameleon" and "weathercock" to the painter of the Revolution.

What then was the real nature of David's role as a political figure? David, the artist, needs no introduction, and the significant part which he played as a propagandist of the Revolution has already been sketched.⁷ His purely political activities, however, have been virtually ignored by his biographers and by historians. David was a political leader of many facets. He was a member of the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs. He had his own professional pressure group, the Popular and Republican Art Society. He influenced the General Assembly and Revolutionary Committee of his ward (Section du Louvre, later du Muséum). He was an elector of the Department of Paris. He had liaisons with the members of the Paris Commune and the Revolutionary Tribunal. Above all he was a member of the National Convention and of several of its component committees and commissions. To study all these activities would transcend the limits of the present essay; only the most controversial aspect of his career, namely, his membership in the Committee of General Security will be attempted here. David's critics refer to the decrees he signed as a member of this committee for evidence of terroristic persecution of professional rivals and personal enemies, and it is likewise to the same source that his apologists point in his defense. However, neither opponents nor defenders actually took the trouble to examine the records to which they so confidently allude.⁸ This essay, based on an analysis of the extant papers of the Committee of General Security preserved in the French National Archives in Paris,⁹ attempts to assess, insofar as these sources permit, David's real role as a member of the committee.

During the Terror, the National Convention, while retaining full legisla-

⁵ Etienne Jean Delécluze, *Louis David, son école et son temps: souvenirs* (Paris, 1885), pp. 203-204, 343.

⁶ E. J. Delécluze, *Journal . . . 1824-1828*, ed. R. Baschet (Paris, 1948), p. 113.

⁷ See n. 3 above.

⁸ Miette de Villars, *Mémoires de David* (Paris, 1850), p. 5, refers to his "*vérification faite de son carnet du Comité de Sûreté Générale*" but obviously never saw the evidence. Jules David, *Le Peintre Louis David* (Paris, 1880), p. 159, has only a vague and somewhat misleading paragraph on the subject. The notes he compiled from the registers of the committee do not entirely agree with his statements. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits (Paris) (hereafter cited as B.N., MSS), Nouv. Acq. Fr., 6606, ff. 63-74.

⁹ A.N., AF II* 224, 254-301; F 7* 1-103, 684, 2201-10; F 7 4386-4824; DXLIII, 1.

tive powers, created a collective dictatorship consisting of three organizations: the Committee of General Security, the Committee of Public Safety, and the Revolutionary Tribunal. The history of the first of these, though essential to and intimately connected with its better-known partners, has never been written.¹⁰ Though the Committee of Public Safety was regarded as the more powerful, it was checked by and forced to co-operate with the Committee of General Security, in which general police powers were vested. While the former committee might formulate general policies, the latter dealt with the persons who implemented these policies and also provided the data on the basis of which its more famous twin made its appointments and administrative decisions. A political police agency is always a power. In this case it was of incalculable importance because it was ordinarily the Committee of General Security which decided who should be sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal for judgment.

When the membership of the police body was reorganized on September 14, 1793, David was among the new members nominated by the Committee of Public Safety. The others who joined the committee at this time were mocking, vindictive Vadier, ex-cavalry officer and lawyer Boucher-Saint-Sauveur, Protestant lawyer Voulland, and paternal old Rühl. Robespierre's compatriots—youthful Joseph Le Bas, ex-Oratorian Joseph Le Bon, and cynical, intriguing Guffroy; the republican writer Lavicomterie; that mild Montagnard Moïse Bâyle; coldly ferocious André Amar, and revolutionary policeman Panis—who had been elected on September 10 were all confirmed on the fourteenth. Shortly afterwards a loyal Jacobin, Barbeau Du Barran, Laloy, a moderate, and the hard-working and conscientious pair Jagot and Louis (du Bas Rhin) were added to the committee. In Brumaire, Le Bon, Boucher-Saint-Sauveur, and Laloy resigned and Elie La Coste, a former physician, entered its ranks. These were the fourteen who, with two minor exceptions, controlled the police committee until 9 Thermidor.¹¹

The appointment of an artist to a police organization was by no means unusual under the circumstances.¹² The reason for David's appointment was probably his prominent position and his political and propaganda experience. First of all David's unchallenged professional position as first painter of France—and probably of Europe—gave him tremendous prestige with his

¹⁰ Georges Belloni, *Le Comité de sûreté générale de la Convention nationale* (Paris, 1924), is merely an analysis of its composition, organization, and functions. Moreover it leaves much to be desired. The writer of the present essay is preparing a history of the committee.

¹¹ Panis resigned in Nivôse when his brother-in-law, Santerre, was arrested and Guffroy resigned in Ventôse after he was purged from the Jacobin Club. See J. Guillaume, "Le personnel du Comité de sûreté générale," *La Révolution française*, XXXIX (1900), 124-51, 219-54, and Belloni, pp. 49-52, 73-74.

¹² This writer is publishing an article on the subject elsewhere.

countrymen. Moreover he had been known since the beginning of the Revolution as a consistent supporter of its principles. He had shown himself a loyal and vigorous Jacobin for the past three years and had lately served as president of the society.¹³ His influence upon the Section of the Louvre, the revolutionary committees, the Paris Commune, the Revolutionary Tribunal, and the popular commissions was probably exaggerated by his enemies¹⁴ but he was not exactly a political cipher.

Moreover, David had a large personal following. His studio in the Louvre was always a gathering place for political as well as intellectual and social leaders of the day. Though many of the pupils of his *atelier* were serving with the army, some of them were jurors of the Revolutionary Tribunal, policemen, national agents, members of surveillance committees, officials of the Paris Commune and other instruments of the revolutionary government. David organized and apparently controlled a patriotic artists' pressure group, the Popular and Republican Arts Society, which included some three hundred members.

It was really not strange then that David had been elected by an overwhelming vote as a delegate of Paris to the National Convention a year before.¹⁵ There, in keeping with his experience, he joined the group which believed that drastic measures were required. Contending political factions had used his salon in the Louvre as a meeting place and one contemporary source credited David with a conscious policy of reconciling Girondins and Montagnards.¹⁶ If this were so, then it was only after reconciliation failed that the artist took his place on the benches of the Mountain. He voted for the death of the king and vigorously supported his co-partisans in their struggle with the Gironde.

Though handicapped by a speech defect (he had a large growth in his left cheek), David spoke about a hundred times on the floor of the Convention. He read more than twenty-five major speeches or reports of which a dozen were considered important enough to be separately reprinted at national expense. David was appointed to more than twenty special commissions and he was one of the leading members of the Committee of Public Instruction. The month before his election to the Committee of General Security, David served as secretary of the Convention during the presidency

¹³ June 16 to July 17, 1793, *Journal des débats de la Société des amis de la constitution*, nos. 435-49, and *Journal de la Montagne*, nos. 17-48.

¹⁴ "Déclarations faites à la Commission des Douzes de la Section du Muséum," A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièces 296 and 297. Section du Muséum, *Pièces à la charge de David* (Paris, 1795), pp. 6-26.

¹⁵ Etienne Charavay, *Assemblée électorale de Paris* (Paris, 1905), III, 160.

¹⁶ [J. Adolphus], *Biographical Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Revolution* (London, 1797), p. 338.

of Danton, and later he was honored with the president's chair.¹⁷ An interesting report of one of the secret agents of the ministry of the interior, indicates that at the time David joined the police committee he was equally prominent and influential with the crowds in the streets of Paris.¹⁸

Finally, besides enjoying a position as a well-known artistic and political figure, David had a keen perception of the ever-changing currents of public opinion. For almost four years he had been using his abilities as an artist to popularize the cause of the Revolution—more particularly the policies of the Jacobins—through his paintings and festivals. As a member of the Committee of Public Instruction of the National Convention he became an official propagandist of the revolutionary government. His efforts had been strikingly successful. It was quite evident that David was extremely sensitive to the fluctuating currents of public opinion. A man with such talents could not fail to be an asset to the committee charged with general police and political security measures of the First Republic.

The headquarters of the police committee were located in the Hôtel de Brionne on the Petit Place du Carrousel in the then closely built up area between the Tuileries—which housed the National Convention—and the old Louvre.¹⁹ Here was the center of an intricate system which covered the whole nation. Dispatches from the Convention, its various committees and deputies-on-mission, from the sections and municipality of Paris and other large cities, from national agents, administrators, and popular societies all over France kept David and his colleagues well informed. More than a hundred office employees were constantly overworked to keep up with the steady flow of business. The members questioned suspected counterrevolutionaries and they also interrogated large numbers of public functionaries and private persons. Crowds of unsummoned petitioners came to denounce or to defend suspected enemies of the Republic. When personal solicitations were forbidden a box was provided for written denunciations and petitions. Needless to say, an unknown number of secret agents and spies reported daily to the committee.

In addition to these "undercover agents," the committee maintained a large corps of its own police officers. Of these dreaded emissaries, the redoubtable ex-sailor Héron, his energetic rivals Sénar and Dossonville, and the smooth and wily Vilate were merely the best known. The committee's law enforcement officers and their numerous subordinates not only executed the orders of David and his colleagues within the capital city but they were also

¹⁷ *Procès-verbal de la Convention nationale* (Paris, 1792-94), Vols. I-LXXII, *passim*.

¹⁸ Police Générale, Seine, an II, "Rapport du 17 Septembre [1793] de Le Harivel," A.N., F⁷ 3688³, liasse 1, pièce 84.

¹⁹ The following account of the committee, based on the papers of the C.S.G., is a condensation of a separate study which the author is preparing for publication.

sent on roving missions to the provinces. Nevertheless, the principal agents of the Hôtel de Brionne were the thousands of local, popularly elected police boards known as "Revolutionary Committees." District administrators and municipal officials were also at the disposal of the committee. "National Agents" provided the committee with direct liaisons with the local officials and outlying communes. Thus the various agencies of the revolutionary government provided the skeleton of a vast police network.

Besides providing the motive power for the powerful revolutionary police force, the Committee of General Security was a clearinghouse for all types of information on the internal security of France. When the evidence was considered and complete in an individual case the committee made its decision as to the innocence or guilt of the suspect. An order was thereupon issued calling either for his immediate release or for the transmission of his case for trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The odds against the accused being freed by the Tribunal were only about four to three and he had almost an even chance of escaping the death sentence, but it is obvious that the responsibility of the Committee of General Security was very great indeed.²⁰

What was David's individual share of this responsibility? At the outset it is granted that the very fact of membership automatically gave him a share of the collective responsibility proportionate to the term of his membership. David himself certainly never really denied this type of responsibility. Even when justifying his conduct before a legislative investigating committee he maintained his solidarity with his former colleagues.²¹ Moreover, he never expressed the slightest regret for, nor disavowal of, his role during the terror.²² As an ardently patriotic member of the government he recognized the necessity of ensuring the success of the Revolution by extraordinary means. War and civil revolt called for forceful and vigorous action if the First French Republic was to survive and if the principles upon which it was based were to be preserved. "What could we do," he asked an English critic in 1802, "surrounded by traitors who were paid by Pitt to sap the foundations of the Republic?"²³

The question remains: What was David's exact personal role as a member

²⁰ These figures check with those of the most recent student of the subject, James L. Godfrey (*Revolutionary Justice: A Study of the Organization, Personnel, and Procedure of the Paris Tribunal, 1793-1795* [Chapel Hill, 1951]).

²¹ "Justification de David," A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 295, ff. [6-7].

²² This fact is attested by his pupil E. J. Delécluze (*Journal*, p. 294); a fellow Montagnard of the Convention, M. A. Baudot (*Notes historiques* [Paris, 1893], p. 158), an English traveler, H. R. Yorke (*France in 1802*, ed. J. A. C. Sykes [London, 1906], pp. 125-27), a British aristocrat, Sir John Carr (*The Stranger in France, or a Tour from Devonshire to Paris* [London, 1803], pp. 109-10), and a German tourist, F. J. L. Meyer (*Fragmente aus Paris* [Hamburg, 1797], II, 217-20).

²³ Yorke, p. 125.

of the committee? The issue has been obscured by partisan views. In the counterrevolutionary propaganda publications of the artist's own time he was represented as a ferociously active member of the police committee.²⁴ After Thermidor, Vadier, under fire as a leading member of the committee, tried to throw the blame for certain alleged abuses of power upon David alone.²⁵ In rebuttal, the artist denied that he had had any influence on the committee but at the same time declared his solidarity with its work.²⁶ According to his biographers, David's role as a member of the committee was negligible.²⁷ While Jules David admitted that his ancestor performed his police duties with great ardor for the first two months of his office, he maintained that little by little David's other interests interfered and that finally "he left all responsibility for general security" to his colleagues.²⁸ David himself claimed that he had no influence whatever upon the committee, that he rarely if ever attended its meetings, and *that he had never had a single person arrested*.²⁹ These statements were not accurate. The circumstances under which they were made (the artist was under indictment as a terrorist) should have suggested some doubts regarding their literal truth. They have been tacitly accepted, however, by David's biographers and even by professional historians, such as Gérard Walter, who, in the only published study of David's political career, says that he found no orders of arrest signed by the artist. Walter adds that David was "a bad policeman."³⁰

An examination of the unpublished registers of the acts of the Committee of General Security easily resolves the discordant conclusions of royalist propagandists, political rivals, over-indulgent biographers, and others. The committees of Public Safety and of General Security did not keep minutes of their meetings. Opinions and decisions of their various members can be judged only from the resolutions and correspondence which they drafted and signed. Post-Thermidorian testimony of the former members themselves on these questions is, of course, extremely untrustworthy and certainly

²⁴ See Dowd, pp. 144-48.

²⁵ Convention meeting, 13 Fructidor, an II [Aug. 30, 1794], *Moniteur*, no. 345 (15 Fructidor, an II), p. 1415.

²⁶ A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 295, ff. [6-7].

²⁷ The most detailed of these, from whom most subsequent biographies have been taken, devotes fourteen lines to David's role as a member of the committee (Jules David, p. 159).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ "Réponse de David," A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 293, pp. 3-4. Letter of David to the Convention, 25 Thermidor [an III (Aug. 12, 1795)], A.N., F⁷ 6711, plaq. 7, f. 585. Letter of David to C.S.P., 27 Messidor, an III [July 15, 1795], "Papiers de David," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts (Paris), MS. 316, liasse I, pièce 7.

³⁰ G. Walter, "Un Artiste sous la terreur: le destin révolutionnaire de David," *La Lumière*, no. 588 (Aug. 12, 1938), p. 7, col. 1. Walter is a distinguished scholar employed at the Bibliothèque Nationale. His article, however, was intended for a popular audience and not as a serious contribution to the subject.

should not be accepted at face value. Prosecuted for terrorism and threatened with prison or worse, they exhibited an understandable desire to minimize their personal roles. Carnot's famous *apologia* in which he said that the signatures on the decrees of the governing committees provided absolutely no index of personal responsibility is no longer accepted by serious scholars.³¹ When important matters were considered by the committees, the members could dissent from the collective policy by withholding their signatures. If they signed the decree they accepted full responsibility. David's responsibility, therefore, may be determined by the study of the decrees which he signed.

The record, incomplete though it may be, reveals that of the 315 meetings of the committee during his active membership (September 15, 1793, to July 27, 1794) at least 131, or 42 per cent, were attended by David. Between the dates indicated some 4,737 decrees were promulgated; of these, not less than 406 (approximately 9 per cent) bear the signature of David. During the first months of the new committee's activities the artist was present at 26 out of 30, or 87 per cent of the meetings and he signed 111 out of 367 or about 30 per cent of the decrees enacted. For other periods he was similarly active. For example, the week after the Laws of Ventôse were implemented (March 17-24) David attended 6 out of 7 sessions and signed 35 out of 94 decrees, or 32 per cent.³²

Like various other members of the committees of government, David was absent during periods when other official duties required all his time. Although he was never sent on mission to the departments or to the armies, he was constantly being called upon to employ his talents to glorify the Revolution and to mobilize the arts in the service of the Republic. When his propaganda and other work in the Committee of Public Instruction appears to have been particularly heavy his activity at the Hôtel de Brionne was drastically curtailed. This seems to have been the situation on a number of occasions. It seems likely that David's work as "Pageant-Master of the Republic" was regarded as being more significant than his role as a revolutionary policeman.

Even so, David's record of activity compares favorably with the performance of his colleagues in the committees. For example, his signature appears on almost as many decrees as Robespierre's does for the same period.³³

³¹ Convention meeting, 3 Germinal, an III [Mar. 23, 1795], *Moniteur*, no. 187 (7 Germinal), p. 761, and *ibid.* no. 190 (10 Germinal), pp. 773-74. See F. A. Aulard, "Les responsabilités de Carnot" (1892), *Etudes et leçons* (5th ed.; Paris, 1909), I, 193; Albert Mathiez, *Girondins et Montagnards* (Paris, 1930), p. 139; J. M. Thompson, "L'organisation du travail du Comité de salut public," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, X (1933), 455.

³² These statistics are based on an analysis of registers AF II* 254, 255, 275, 285, 286, 289, 290, 292, 294.

³³ Gérard Walter, *Robespierre* (8th ed.; Paris, 1946), p. 523.

While this writer would not suggest that David's role as a maker of policy is in any way comparable with that of Robespierre, still the painter did appear to enjoy an important position in the councils of the revolutionary government.

When David and his co-workers met together for the first time on September 15, 1793, one of their first objectives was to reorganize completely the work of the Committee of General Security along more rational and efficient lines. David's signature is found at the bottom of the important regulation of September 17 which divided the functions of the committee into several sections, each under the charge of one or more of its members. The artist presided over the Section of Interrogations.³⁴ It was therefore in an official capacity that David witnessed the monstrous testimony of the Dauphin regarding his mother and the resulting questioning of Louis XVI's sister and daughter on October 7-8.³⁵ The papers of the committee contain other evidence of David's activities as inquisitor for the police organization, notable in cases involving the testimony of prominent deputies such as Danton, the investigation of the committee's own agents such as Maillard, and celebrated suspects like Cécile Renault, who was accused of an attempt on Robespierre's life.³⁶ When a second reorganization replaced the divisions according to functions with four geographical "regions" David was entrusted with security measures for the region of Paris.³⁷ Henceforth he shared direct responsibility for interrogations, correspondence, reports, arrests, releases, and so forth for the capital city and its environs.

The Committee of General Security chose a president and other officers, but with two exceptions there appears to be no evidence of the identity of these officials in its subsequent proceedings.³⁸ Interestingly enough, one of these exceptions is a decree of 18 Nivôse of the Year II (January 7, 1794) signed by David as president.³⁹ Thus the artist-policeman seems not only to have shouldered his share of the work but also to have enjoyed a position of some responsibility within the committee, at least for a time.

³⁴ "Règlement du 17 Septembre [1793]," A.N., AF II* 286, f. 72.

³⁵ "Procès-verbaux des interrogatoires subis par Louis Charles, Thérèse Elisabeth de Bourbon au Temple, 6-7 octobre 1792," A.N., Musée des Archives Nationales de France, no. 1381. Duchesse d'Angoulême, *Journal*, ed. Baron Imbert de Saint-Amand (Paris, 1893), pp. 116-19. For an account reflecting credit on David see "Mémoires d'un vieux musicien de l'époque (1793)," Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France (Paris), MS. 3784, pièce 3, f. 16.

³⁶ A.N., AF II* 286, [ff. 72, 68, 82]; AF II* 289, f. 77.

³⁷ "Règlement [undated but originating early in Brumaire, an II]," A.N., AF II* 286, f. [81].

³⁸ Belloni (p. 54 n.) says: "The register of decrees does not reveal by whom these functions were exercised between September 1793 and 9 Thermidor," but Albert Tournier (*Vadier* [Paris, n.d.], p. 105) insists that Vadier was president for this same period.

³⁹ A.N., AF II* 294, f. 31. Another "arrêté du 1 Frimaire [Nov. 21, 1793]" is signed by Vadier as president. A.N., AF II* 290, f. 30.

Lack of space makes it impossible to cite more than a few examples of David's acts as a member of the Committee of General Security. Nevertheless, several cases involving various aspects of his activities should be mentioned. The purpose of the committee, of course, was to insure the security of the state, and for this purpose its jurisdiction included the whole area and the entire population of the French nation. To this end the supreme police organization was provided with far-reaching powers. It could investigate, arrest, imprison, and transmit to the courts for trial any and all persons suspected of working against the Revolution. Moreover, the committee was given control over the dissemination of ideas by means of the censorship, and over the movements of all individuals, whether they were suspects or not.

The essential check upon the movements of all persons within France as well as those who crossed her borders was provided by the passport system. Ordinarily it was the Committee of General Security which issued passports to citizens who were sent to carry out its orders in other parts of the country. The police committee also visaed the passports of travelers who came to or through Paris. Registers were kept in which the passports and visas issued by the committee were copied.⁴⁰ From the signatures in the folios which survive we learn that David regularly signed passports and validated visas for the committee. We know, for example, that the artist obtained a passport for Robert Merry which enabled that radical English poet to get home with his family when France and Britain had been at war for months.⁴¹ Similarly David tried to save General Charles Sériziat by visaing his passport so that he could leave Paris before the police arrested him.⁴² The passport and visa system together with the institution of the "certificate of civism" enabled the police committee and its auxiliaries and agents to exercise a degree of control over the population of the First French Republic which has been surpassed only by the police states of the twentieth century.

The committee also maintained a significant type of control over the movements of the members of the National Convention itself. If a deputy wished to leave Paris, he had to apply for a *congé* or leave of absence from the police committee. David's signature appears on a number of such decrees issued to various deputies of the National Assembly who wanted to absent themselves from Paris.⁴³ The police committee also ruled as to whether or not individual deputies and substitutes should be allowed to resign their posts.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ "Règlement du 20 Germinal, an II [Apr. 9, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 284. E.g., A.N., AF II* 282, 288, F⁷ 4412. The C.S.P. also issued passports, e.g., A.N., AF II* 234.

⁴¹ A.N., AF II* 288, F⁷ 4412.

⁴² "Visa du 23 Floréal [May 12, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 285, f. 77.

⁴³ E.g., A.N., AF II* 275, ff. 217, 221.

⁴⁴ E.g., "Arrêté du 19 Messidor [July 7, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 275, f. 222.

Moreover, the committee investigated and approved or rejected the substitutes for vacancies created by the resignation, removal, or death of deputies to the National Convention.⁴⁵ Thus David and his colleagues exercised a very significant type of control over the movements of their fellow representatives, over their resignations, and over the filling of legislative vacancies which they themselves sometimes helped to create through the application of the "Terror" to the Convention itself.

Of the numerous categories in which the "enemies of the Republic" could be classified, none was more obvious than royalist-minded aristocrats and the relatives, correspondents, and sympathizers of the *émigrés*. Among the former nobles arrested and sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal by order of David were the old peer the duc de Villeroy, the former noble and intendant Terray and his wife, and Louis XV's fading mistress, Madame du Barry, all of whom went to the guillotine.⁴⁶ David signed a warrant for the arrest of Louis de Champcenetz, one of the satirical editors of the notorious and witty royalist sheet the *Actes des Apôtres* and former governor of the Tuileries.⁴⁷ David's name also appears on the act of arrest of Alexandre de Beauharnais. Although the young ex-general and politician from Martinique was condemned to death, his handsome widow survived to wed Napoleon.⁴⁸ David also ordered that the marquise de Crussol d'Amboise should be sent to a regular prison. This old lady had been held under house arrest for corresponding with the enemy but she succeeded in corrupting the two members of the surveillance committee of the section who had been assigned the task of guarding her.⁴⁹ The young and charming Bellegarde sisters from an old Savoyard noble family were also arrested on David's signature.⁵⁰ They were accused of spying for the enemy. The older sister, Adèle, had a husband serving as colonel in the Sardinian army then fighting against France. She had also been Hérault de Séchelle's mistress until the arrest and execution of that handsome aristocrat and worldly revolutionary. Nevertheless the "dames Bellegarde" were released after Thermidor. Their subsequent brilliant, if somewhat flamboyant,

⁴⁵ Thus they approved a substitute for Claude Bazire (1765-94), who was executed on April 5, 1794, with the Dantonists. "Arrêté du 24 Floréal [May 13, 1794]," A.N., AF* 285, f. 83.

⁴⁶ Louis-Gabriel Neuville, duc de Villeroy (1731-94), "Arrêté du 2 Floréal [an II]," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 16. Antoine-Jean Terray (1750-94) and Marie-Nicole Perrenay Terray (1751-94), "Arrêté du 4 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, ff. 47-48. Marie Jeanne Vaubernier, comtesse du Barry (1746-93), "Arrêté du 29 Brumaire," A.N., AF II* 290, f. 27.

⁴⁷ "Arrêté du 12 Ventôse," A.N., AF II* 292, f. 50.

⁴⁸ "Arrêté du 12 Ventôse," Musée du Préfecture de Police (Paris), no. 380. "Jugement du tribunal révolutionnaire du 5 Thermidor," A.N., W 429, dos. 965, liasse 2, pièce 89.

⁴⁹ Claude-Louise Angélique Bersin, marquise de Crussol d'Amboise (1730-94), "Arrêté du 1 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 87. Three weeks after the incarceration she was sent to the guillotine. A.N., F⁷ 4658, dos. "Crussol."

⁵⁰ Adélaïde-Victoire de Bellegarde (1772-1830) and Françoise-Aurore de Bellegarde (1776-1840), "Arrêté du 4 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, ff. 52-53.

careers in the boudoirs and salons of the Directoire, Empire, and Restoration would provide ample material for the historical novelist. Evidently these colorful ladies bore David no ill will for his professional attentions as policeman which kept them three months in prison. Five years later they were frequent visitors at his studio and the ravishing Adèle posed for one of the more seductive figures in David's celebrated painting "The Rape of the Sabine Women."⁵¹ It would appear from the later attitude of these and other aristocrats (including the comtesse de Noailles, the comte de Mainebourg, Baron Denon, the comte de Forbin, and others) that David's attitude toward them and their class was that of a revolutionary security agent who performed the duties of his office in accordance with the law. While there is much to indicate that David did not hesitate to order that suspects be sent to prison or to the tribunal there is no evidence that he engaged in vindictive persecution of the ex-nobles as a group.

The former magistrates who had constituted the "nobility of the robe" were also regarded with suspicion by the revolutionary police. The *parlementaires* were especially notorious since they agitated against the abolition of their own powers and privileges as well as those of the church, the crown, and the nobility. On March 29, 1794, the Committee of General Security finally ordered twenty-four of the former members of the *parlements* of Paris and Toulouse sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal for trial.⁵² During the course of the investigation of the *parlementaires* the committee's agents turned up a mass of treasonous and counterrevolutionary correspondence which implicated half-a-dozen other ex-nobles. These were arrested and brought in for questioning. The warrants for Hocquart, ex-president of the *Cour des Aides* of Paris, and his friend, a retired colonel, the *ci-devant* comte du Nort, were signed by David.⁵³ After an interrogation and an examination of their letters which left no doubt as to where their loyalties lay the two royalists were sent to the Conciergerie to stand trial as accomplices of the *parlementaires*. On the basis of this evidence Hocquart and Nort were condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal along with the former magistrates. That same spring afternoon (April 20) they were all executed.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Delécluze, *David*, pp. 192-95; Delécluze, *Journal*, pp. 337-38. See also François Vermale, "Les Dames de Bellegarde," *Ann. hist. Rév. fr.*, XIX (1947), 218-56. Aurore ended her days as canoness of the royal chapter of St. Anne of Munich!

⁵² "Arrêté du 9 Germinal," A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 3, pièce 35.

⁵³ Antoine-Louis-Hyacinthe Hocquart (1739-94), "Arrêté du 20 Germinal," A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 3, pièce 23; AF II* 294, f. 201. Nicolas-Agnès-François, comte du Nort (1726-94), "Arrêté du 20 Germinal," A.N., F⁷ 4693, dos. "Du Nord"; AF II* 294, f. 203.

⁵⁴ "Arrêté du 21 Germinal," A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 4, pièce 33. "Acte d'accusation du 29 Germinal," A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 5, pièce 91. The incriminating letters may still be read: A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 3, pièces 18-21, liasse 4, pièces 36-50. "Jugement du 1 Floréal," A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 5, pièce 94.

Among the surviving representatives of the Old Regime perhaps none were more hated than the former Farmers-General. These wealthy financiers who had reaped the profits of the iniquitous system of collecting the indirect taxes were subjected to close scrutiny. The dean of the Farmers-General, the seventy-three-year-old ex-noble, Jean Douet, seemed particularly vulnerable. Long suspected of counterrevolutionary activities, he was placed under house arrest. When the aged financier was denounced for secreting an enormous treasure in his cellar, David signed an order which authorized a thorough search of Douet's home as well as the transfer of the suspect to prison.⁵⁵

Ten days later (November 24, 1793) the Convention decreed that all the Farmers-General should be arrested and held in prison while their accounts were audited.⁵⁶ As a member of this group Douet, too, was accused of "enriching himself with the blood and sweat of the people." Moreover, successive searches of his town house in the Rue Bergère turned up irrefutable evidence of the capital crimes of hoarding, speculation, and corresponding with the *émigrés*. He was therefore condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal on May 14, 1794, and was executed the same day on the Place de la Révolution.⁵⁷ After a thorough investigation of the evidence by the Committee of General Security, twenty-eight more of the Farmers-General were sent to the Tribunal. Following a three-day trial these men, among them the great chemist Lavoisier, were guillotined on May 8, 1794. David's signature is not found on the documents in this case.⁵⁸ Before the Revolution he had painted the magnificent portrait of Lavoisier and his wife which hangs today in the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York. In the spring of 1794 the artist was exempt from the sad necessity of helping to send his distinguished subject to his death.

Refractory clergy were punished in the same way as *émigrés* and other counterrevolutionaries. All former priests were viewed with mistrust. Numerous decrees having to do with ex-clergymen bear the signature of David. One of the earlier of these was a warrant for the arrest of Prince, former rector at Sèvres.⁵⁹ Another resulted in the arrest of the abbé Beaumazo.⁶⁰ It appears that both these churchmen escaped the guillotine. On May 3, 1794, David

⁵⁵ Jean-Claude Douet (1721-94), "Arrêté du 24 Brumaire [Nov. 14, 1793]," A.N., AF II* 290, f. 23; F⁷ 4680, liasse 4, dos. "Douet," pièce 184.

⁵⁶ "Décret du 4 Frimaire," A.N., C 282, dos. 787.

⁵⁷ Large amounts of gold, silver, jewels, and goods of scarce varieties such as coffee and tobacco were discovered. A.N., F⁷ 4680, dos. "Douet." "Acte d'accusation du 24 Floréal" and "Jugement du 25 Floréal," A.N., W 365, dos. 809.

⁵⁸ "Jugement du 19 Floréal," A.N., W 362, dos. 785.

⁵⁹ "Arrêté du 10 septembre [1793]," A.N., AF II* 286, f. [65].

⁶⁰ "Arrêté du 3^e décadi Germinal [Apr. 10, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 292, f. 142.

signed an order for the arrest and transmission to the Revolutionary Tribunal on charges of counterrevolutionary correspondence of two priests, Ragent and Simard. The latter was condemned and executed.⁶¹ In the Department of the Orne an ex-curé, Muteau, now *procureur* of his commune, and an ex-canon, Poitevin, now national commissioner, were ordered seized by a decree issued on May 8 and signed by David. These *ci-devant* priests were imprisoned in St. Lazare at Paris and then ordered incarcerated in La Force on May 16. Neither of them was executed.⁶²

By the so-called federalist revolt of the summer of 1793 the Girondins had transformed themselves into rebels against the government. With royalists being condemned to death, "federalists" could not expect mercy from the Revolution. Under popular pressure the Convention voted on October 3 that forty-one of the imprisoned Girondins should be tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal.⁶³ Three days later one of the Girondins, the former academician Jean Dusaulx, wrote from prison to David asking him to intervene in his capacity as member of the Committee of General Security and to save him.⁶⁴ What action David took, if any, we do not know, but Dusaulx did not join the others in the dock of the tribunal on October 15 or mount the scaffold on October 31 with the condemned Girondins. The wife of Louis-Joseph Richou, another of the accused, also wrote to the painter to plead her husband's cause, and Richou too was spared.⁶⁵ On the day of execution of the Girondin leaders David joined his associates on the police committee in a letter to Fouquier-Tinville, public prosecutor of the Revolutionary Tribunal, asking for a report on the surviving members of the Girondin group.⁶⁶ Actual rebels were of course tracked down mercilessly, but the imprisoned deputies were well treated. They were very much alive when they lined the staircase of the Hôtel des Fermes to greet David with ironical politeness when the former policeman entered its doors as a prisoner on 15 Thermidor.⁶⁷

Royalists and "federalists" were not the only individuals to attract the unwelcome attentions of the Committee of General Security. Internal opposition, factional groups, and corrupt deputies were subjected to punitive action by David and his associates. In mid-October, 1793, shortly before the

⁶¹ "Arrêté du 14 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 144; F7* 2204, f. 10. Claude Simard (1726-94), "Jugement du 2 Prairial [May 21, 1794]," A.N., W 370, dos. 825, pièces 63, 75.

⁶² "Arrêté du 19 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 201; F7* 2204, f. [12]. "Arrêté du 27 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 288.

⁶³ "Decret du 3 octobre," *Journal des débats et des décrets*, no. 380 [n.d.], pp. 28-29.

⁶⁴ Letter of Dusaulx to David, Paris, Oct. 6, 1793, A.N., AA 48, plaq. 3, pièce 24.

⁶⁵ Letter of Mme Richou to David, Oct. 17, 1793, A.N., F7 4774⁸², liasse 4, dos. "Richou."

⁶⁶ Letter of C.S.G. to Fouquier-Tinville, 10 Brumaire, an II [Oct. 31, 1793], A.N., W 492, dos. 204, liasse 2, pièce 11; AF II* 286, f. 86.

⁶⁷ P. M. Delafontaine, "Rectifications sur la vie de David," Bibliothèque de l'Institut, MS. 3782, pp. 28-29.

Girondins went on trial, a former poet and actor, the deputy Fabre "d'Eglantine," denounced an enormous foreign conspiracy to the committee.⁶⁸ Fabre's story sounded plausible since the Parisian underworld swarmed with foreign spies and international adventurers who were suspected of trying to subvert the revolutionary government through corruption. The "Foreign Plot" was largely a myth, but behind it lay the sordid reality of factional strife, personal jealousy, intrigue, and graft. Fabre himself was involved in the notorious "Affair of the Indies Company." In this case a group of corrupt deputies falsified a decree liquidating the Indies Company and speculated in its stock. When the thieves fell out Fabre tried to protect himself by secretly accusing his fellow racketeers of conspiring with foreigners. Confident of Danton's protection he smeared the Hébertists. A month later the ex-monk François Chabot and Claude Bazire, who were parties to the Indies conspiracy, denounced their associates, including Fabre, for similar reasons. For the moment Fabre and Hébert were ignored, but the others, accusers and accused, were jailed by the Committee of General Security. David, too, signed the warrant for Chabot's incarceration.⁶⁹

Chabot made the error of trying to implicate David in the *affaire* by linking his name with the grafter Delaunay d'Anger and the latter's mistress; with Benoist, also from Anger, who had married one of David's pupils; and with the Héberts.⁷⁰ When the former Capuchin wrote to David from prison asking for his help, the painter not unnaturally turned a deaf ear.⁷¹ In the meantime David took a special interest in seeing that the case was thoroughly investigated. Benoist, a key figure in the plot, escaped the police, but David denounced his hiding place to the authorities.⁷² The orders for the arrest of the actress Louise Descoings, Delaunay's mistress, and for the seizure of Delaunay's papers were also signed by David.⁷³ Other important witnesses such as Chabot's wealthy Austrian brothers-in-law, the Jewish bankers Junius

⁶⁸ Philippe François Nazaire Fabre d'Eglantine (1750-94). See Albert Mathiez, *Un procès de corruption sous la terreur: l'affaire de la Compagnie des Indes* (Paris, 1921).

⁶⁹ Claude Bazire (1765-94) and François Chabot (1757-94) were both deputies and former members of the Committee of General Security. "Dénonciation de Chabot [au C.S.G.], 24 Brumaire, an II [Nov. 15, 1793]," and "Dénonciation de Bazire," 26 Brumaire, A.N., W 342, dos. 648, liasse 1. See also *Pièces trouvées chez Robespierre*, pp. 26, 46-52. "Arrestation de Chabot du 28 Brumaire," A.N., AF II* 290, f. 25.

⁷⁰ Joseph Delaunay (1755-94), deputy of Anger; Louise Descoings, an actress of the Théâtre de la République was a former mistress of Chabot; Pierre Vincent Benoist (1758-1834); Jacques-René Hébert (1757-94) and his wife Marie-Marguerite Françoise Hébert (1758-94).

⁷¹ Letter of Chabot to David, 23 Nivôse [Jan. 12, 1794], A.N., F⁷ 4637, dos. "Chabot," liasse 1, pièce 143.

⁷² Letter to mayor of Paris, 27 Brumaire [Nov. 17], A.N., F⁷ 4594, dos. "Benoit." See Marie Juliette Ballot, *Une élève de David: La Comtesse Benoist . . . 1768-1826* (Paris, 1914), pp. 101-102.

⁷³ "Arrêté du 1 Brumaire [Frimaire?]," A.N., F⁷ 4672, liasse 1, dos. "Descoing," pièce 17. "Arrêté du 29 Brumaire [Nov. 20]," A.N., W 342, dos. 648, liasse 3, pièce 11.

and Emmanuel Frey, the bookkeeper of the Indies Company, and a certain De Mars, were all arrested on warrants issued by the artist and his associates.⁷⁴

When Delaunay's papers were examined, the Committee of General Security found proof of Fabre's, Chabot's, and Bazire's complicity and evidence involving royalists, *enragés*, de-Christianizers, speculators, foreign agents, as well as corrupt politicians. Eventually both ultra-revolutionaries ("Hébertists") and moderates ("Dantonists") were enmeshed in the strands of the *affaire*. In the eyes of the governing committees both these factions were aspects of a common plot to overthrow the government—the one by an excess, the other by a lack of republicanism. Therefore, two great state trials were staged: after the Hébertists (March 15–24) came the turn of the Dantonists (March 30–April 5). Of the warrants issued for the arrest of the accused deputies only that of the elegant and amiable Hérault de Séchelles appears to have been signed by David.⁷⁵ The artist has been blamed for placing his signature on the warrant for Danton's arrest on the night of March 30, and it is said that Robert Lindet and Rühl alone had the courage to refuse to sign. As a matter of fact, the original decree is still preserved in the Museum of the French National Archives and an examination proves conclusively that David did not sign it.⁷⁶ Whatever part David may have played at the trial of the Dantonists, it is clear that nothing could have saved them.

The Revolution placed enormous powers in the hands of the bureaucracy, and so one of the important functions of the governing committees was to watch the vast army of public servants. David and his colleagues were quick to call corrupt, oppressive, and "politically unreliable" functionaries to account. Examples of their vigilance were numerous. Dubois, an unfaithful administrator of the Department of Paris, was dismissed on March 18, 1794, by the Committee of General Security.⁷⁷ On April 22 a warrant was issued for the arrest of Domingeon, an official of the Commune of Ardes (Puy-de-Dôme).⁷⁸ Both decrees were signed by David. The artist and his associates then arrested the terrorist Alexander Rousselin on May 25. This young ex-noble, ex-journalist, ex-Girondin, and ex-Dantonist was accused of atheism, brutality, and graft but was acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal on

⁷⁴ "Arrêté du 3 Frimaire [Nov. 23]," A.N., F⁷ 4713, liasse 1, dos. "Fray," pièce [6]. The real name of these brothers was Dobruska or Tropuska. Their sister, Leopoldine, married Chabot. "Arrêtés du 27 Ventôse [Mar. 17, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 292, f. 79; AF II* 294, f. 142.

⁷⁵ Marie-Jean Hérault de Séchelles (1759–94) deputy of Seine-et-Oise. "Arrêté du 25 Ventôse, an II [Mar. 15, 1794]"—the copy in the register of the committee (A.N., AF II* 292, f. 74) does not bear David's signature but the original does: A.N., F⁷ 4435, plaq. 3, pièce 81.

⁷⁶ "Arrêté du 10 Germinal," Musée des Archives, no. 1401.

⁷⁷ "Arrêté du 28 Ventôse, an II," A.N., AF II* 294, f. 144.

⁷⁸ "Arrêté du 3 Floréal, an II," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 30; F⁷* 2204, f. 1.

2 Thermidor.⁷⁹ Once acquitted of charges of corruption, however, innocent officials could count on David's signature to free them from further persecution. Thus Charles Chardin was denounced by his section but acquitted by the Tribunal on 24 Germinal (April 13, 1794). When he was rearrested two days later, David ordered his release.⁸⁰

The Jacobin painter and his colleagues appear to have been equally zealous in ferreting out various other kinds of profiteers and speculators. At any rate David's signature appears on a number of warrants such as those for the arrest of the banker Octave Giambone, the agents of the Cologne lottery and others.⁸¹ David and his colleagues warned the local authorities regarding foreign spies, particularly British agents, who were said to be buying up food supplies with counterfeit assignats in order to sabotage the war effort.⁸² Later they put them on their guard against the smuggling of specie out of France into Switzerland.⁸³ And of course from time to time persons accused of counterfeiting assignats were sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal by the artist and his associates.⁸⁴

One of the more important police powers wielded by the governing committees was censorship of the press. Five and a half months before David joined its ranks the Committee of General Security had requested and the Convention had passed a law imposing the death penalty upon writers and printers convicted of counterrevolutionary propaganda activities. That David approved of this law is indicated by the fact that he proposed an amendment subjecting artists who used their talents to undermine the Republic to the same grim fate.⁸⁵ Thereafter, the police committee took stringent measures against authors, pamphleteers, and journalists who tried to use the press to overthrow the revolutionary government.

On November 20, 1793, for example, David and his colleagues issued a warrant for the arrest of a certain Henri Alexandre Audainel, author of a counterrevolutionary pamphlet.⁸⁶ As has been already noticed David was also responsible for the arrest of the witty Chevalier de Champcenetz, editor of the famous royalist journal the *Actes des Apôtres*. Similarly Lefortier, edi-

⁷⁹ Alexandre-Charles-Omer Rousselin de Corbeau (1773-?), "Arrêté du 6 Prairial," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 346. See A. Ordning, *Le Bureau de police du Comité de salut public* (Oslo, 1930), pp. 119-24.

⁸⁰ "Arrêté du 1 et 2 Germinal," A.N., AF II* 292, ff. 87, 88, 91. "Jugement du 24 Germinal," A.N., W 345, liasse 5, dos. 676, pièce 74. "Arrêtés du 26 et 27 Germinal," A.N., AF II* 292, ff. 150, 151.

⁸¹ A.N., AF II* 290, f. 29; AF II* 292, f. 66; AF II* 254, ff. 17-18, 109.

⁸² "Circulaire du 2 Germinal, an II [Mar. 22, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 286, f. [92].

⁸³ "Lettre du 18 Floréal [May 7]," A.N., AF II* 285, f. 61.

⁸⁴ E.g., "Arrêté du 22 Prairial [June 10]," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 451.

⁸⁵ Mar. 29, 1793, *Procès-verbal de la Convention nationale*, VIII, 348.

⁸⁶ "Arrêté du 30 Brumaire, an II," A.N., AF II* 290, ff. 29-30.

tor of the daily *Correspondance politique de Paris et des départements*, was summoned by David and his associates to explain certain statements in the issue of March 14, 1793. He got off with a warning. The royalist propaganda activities of this journalist evidently continued and eventually brought about his arrest after Thermidor.⁸⁷ The order issued on May 8 for the arrest of the printer Crapart, former publisher of the well-known *Ami du Roi*, and for a time editor of that royalist sheet, was also signed by David.⁸⁸ A similar warrant was issued over the artist's signature for the journalist Laveaux, ex-editor of the official Jacobin organ the *Journal de la Montagne*.⁸⁹ While neither of the last two named went to the guillotine, the control of the Committee of General Security over the press was evident.

The theater was too obvious a mold of public opinion to escape the notice of the Committee of General Security and dramatists had to conform to its wishes. This, even the period's most successful playwright, who was also a member of the Convention, learned to his sorrow. In the spring of 1794, Marie-Joseph Chénier, a former associate of David and brother of the great poet André Chénier, tried to revive his own reputation with a neo-classic tragedy entitled *Timoleon*.⁹⁰ This drama, though laid in ancient Corinth, was colored with contemporary overtones, and may have been intended as an attack upon the dictatorship of the Mountain. Warned of the play's political implications by reports from their agents, the governing committees ordered a "preliminary scrutiny" by official experts. Undiscouraged by the jury's unfavorable verdict, Chénier went ahead with his plans for producing *Timoleon*. An officially inspired demonstration abruptly halted rehearsals on May 8, 1794. Fearing arrest, Chénier hurried that night to the Hôtel de Brionne. Here the poet abjectly confessed his errors and thanked his critics for "enlightening" him. Chénier then burned the manuscript of *Timoleon* in the presence of the Committee of General Security, and received a certificate to that effect signed by David and his associates.⁹¹ Although there is no indication that David was personally responsible for the suppression of his play, Chénier never forgave the painter for having witnessed his humiliation.

⁸⁷ Louis-Bon-Benoit Lefortier (1766-?), "Arrêté du 24 Ventôse," A.N., AF II* 292, f. 73. For his subsequent arrest see A.N., F⁷ 4774¹², liasse 4, dos. "Lefortier." This journalist is generally confused with the educator Jean François Le Fortier (1771-1823).

⁸⁸ Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas Crapart, "Arrêté du 19 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 204. Crapart escaped the agents sent to arrest him. A.N., F⁷ 4657, liasse 2, dos. "Crapart."

⁸⁹ Jean Charles Thiébault de Laveaux, "Arrêté du 12 Germinal [Apr. 1, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 294, f. 178.

⁹⁰ See Alfred J. Bingham, *Marie-Joseph Chenier: Early Political Life and Ideas (1789-1794)* (New York, 1939), pp. 158-67.

⁹¹ "Déclaration de M. J. Chénier" and "Décret du 19 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 285, ff. 64-65; AF II* 275, f. 62.

This incident contributed, nevertheless, to the growth of the legend that David used his political powers for the purpose of persecuting his professional rivals. After Thermidor, when David's pupils came before the National Convention to ask for their master's release from prison, M. J. Chénier rose to speak in behalf of their petition. However, in the course of his speech the dramatist declared that David had been "unjust toward the artists." "And none perhaps knows better than myself," he continued, "how far he pushed his prejudice." Although he said the great painter was "a fanatic of Robespierre" Chénier concluded that, in the final analysis, David was merely guilty of "an extreme rigor in his functions as a member of the Committee of General Security."⁹² Unfortunately history has chosen to remember Chénier's insinuation that David persecuted his fellow artists rather than his statement that the painter refused to let his personal feelings interfere with his strict performance of his duties as a member of the police committee.

The subject of David's attitude toward and treatment of his professional colleagues during the Revolution lies largely outside the scope of this essay.⁹³ A word can be said, however, regarding his relations with the artists who were directly involved in his police activities. Rumors were circulated by royalist sympathizers to the effect that David had had numerous artists arrested and guillotined because of personal jealousy. When impartial observers such as the German traveler Meyer attempted to verify the fact, no evidence beyond hearsay and innuendo was forthcoming.⁹⁴ On the other hand the records of the Committee of General Security reveal that a number of artists were arrested for specific political reasons. Several of these were former members of that conservative and aristocratic institution the Royal Academy of Painting, which David had had suppressed as an artistic "Bastille." Among the former academicians who were arrested by order of the committee were Restout and Pasquier, who had been friends of Roland, and the royalists Le Roy and Suvée.⁹⁵ The latter was a personal rival of David, who had referred to him as that "horrible aristocrat, that ignoramus Suvée."⁹⁶ Had

⁹² *Moniteur*, no. 72 (Dec. 2, 1794), p. 306. It is evident from his later conduct that Chénier, who had collaborated in the revolutionary festivals produced by David, was motivated by a desire to supplant the painter as "pageant master" of the nation.

⁹³ The writer is preparing a separate study on this subject.

⁹⁴ F. J. L. Meyer, *Fragments sur Paris* (Hamburg, 1798), pp. 207-208. The royalist publicist Baron de Coiffier de Moret (*Dictionnaire biographique et historique des hommes marquans de la révolution française* [London, 1800], II, 388) said, "*il seront trop long de nommer tous ceux qu'il [David] envoya à l'échafaud*"; so he neglected to name a single victim!

⁹⁵ Jean Bernard Restout (1732-1797), Pierre Pasquier (1731-1806), Joseph-François Le Roy (1768-1829), and Joseph Benoit Suvée (1743-1807), "Arrêté du 30 Brumaire [Nov. 20, 1793]," A.N., AF II* 290, ff. 28-29 and "Arrêté du 14 Prairial [June 2, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 393.

⁹⁶ Letter of David to Topino-Le Brun, Paris, Dec. 24, 1792, B.N., MSS, Nouv. Acq. Fr., 6604, pièce 391, f. [1].

David been so inclined, such men as these could easily have become victims of his personal vengeance. As a matter of fact the artist did not sign these particular warrants at all, and not one of the painters in question went to the guillotine. Moreover an examination of the records of the Revolutionary Tribunal in the French Archives reveals that not a single artist was sent to the scaffold during the period of David's functions as a political policeman.⁹⁷ Therefore he cannot be accused of being even indirectly responsible for the death of professional rivals. In fact, the only artists executed during the terror were those who were guillotined as followers of Robespierre after Thermidor and David himself escaped going with them only by a hair's breadth.⁹⁸

As Chénier pointed out, the only valid criticism that could be made of David's conduct was that he was relatively inflexible in the performance of his duties on the committee. The artist generally maintained an attitude of complete impartiality toward those who were arrested as suspects. To have done otherwise would have been immoral and illegal as well as dangerous. Naturally the numerous friends and relatives of imprisoned suspects implored the mercy of the members of the police committee. As has been noticed, such personal solicitations were outlawed and David and his colleagues were expressly prohibited from receiving them. Moreover the committee's regulations made unilateral intervention by its individual members legally impossible. An absolute majority of those present was required for arrests while a majority of six votes was necessary for releases.⁹⁹ For David to have urged clemency on purely personal grounds would have roused the suspicions, if not the hostility, of his colleagues. Once a case was turned over to the Revolutionary Tribunal the police committee was enjoined from attempting to influence the outcome.¹⁰⁰ Finally if the laws of the Republic and the personal principles of its officials were not adequate restraints, there was always the example of the deputy Osselin, who expiated on the guillotine his attempt to extricate an *émigrée* lady friend from prison.¹⁰¹ Under these circumstances and the prevailing atmosphere of war hysteria, revolutionary fanaticism, and intense party strife David's rigorous nonintervention is actually admirable. His austere disinterestedness was, according to contemporary standards of conduct, a mark of virtue.

⁹⁷ The W Series (Papers of the Revolutionary Tribunals) at the Archives Nationales indicates that seventeen individuals who would probably be classified as "artists" today were tried by the Tribunal. Sixteen were acquitted and none was executed. However, eleven artists were outlawed as followers of Robespierre and guillotined without trial after Thermidor.

⁹⁸ A.N., W 434, dos. 975, pièce 9; dos. 976, pièce 3; dos. 977, pièce 5; dos. 978, pièce 5.

⁹⁹ "Règlement du C.S.G.," A.N., AF II* 286, f. 82.

¹⁰⁰ "Réponse de David," A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 293, pp. 26-28.

¹⁰¹ Charles-Nicolas Osselin (1752-94).

Nevertheless, it is gratifying to learn that the painter of Brutus, and the friend of Robespierre, was also human. David's inflexible principles apparently did allow him to fight for those suspects whom he believed to be innocent. How warmly and how frequently he defended them at the green baize-covered table in the council room of the Hôtel de Brionne will probably never be known. However, documentary evidence has survived to show that some, at least, owed their liberty or their lives to the fact that the painter had used his influence in their behalf.¹⁰²

In any case David and his colleagues generally showed a commendable impartiality. Neither did they enrich themselves, satisfy their private grudges, nor seize personal dictatorial powers as they might so easily have done. It is refreshing to learn that the political police of the Revolution usually observed the legal safeguards and amenities of arrest, and did not engage in sadistic brutalities such as extracting information by means of torture. The Committee of General Security was extremely well informed, and was reasonably judicious in making its decisions on the basis of the available evidence. Though over-crowded, the prisons of the Revolution were generally much better than most others of the time and the prisoners were usually well treated. The methods of the Hôtel de Brionne and the prisons of Paris in the Year II were a far cry from the calculated bestiality of the Gestapo and the inhuman cruelties of the concentration camps and forced labor gangs of the twentieth century.

David has been defended by some of his biographers and criticized by at least one historian for being a "poor policeman."¹⁰³ Yet in his own time he was denounced more than once as being too rigorous. Actually, as has been shown here, the artist was neither an impotent nonentity nor an implacable and merciless Javert. Probably his greatest contributions during the period were accomplished in the cultural field—as an artist, as a member of the Committee of Public Instruction, and as director of revolutionary pageants—but David did not neglect his more sinister duties as a security agent for the First French Republic. Surely David's role as an active, responsible, and conscientious member of the Committee of General Security deserves something better than the gross distortion or total obscurity which it has received at the hands of many writers. It is perhaps worth remembering that probably a good many of David's fellow citizens agreed with the opinion of the *sans*

¹⁰² Letter of Charles Sériziat, 2 Messidor, an III [June 20, 1795], A.N., AA 53, plaq. 7, pièce 3; cf. A.N., AF II* 255, f. 625; AF II* 285, ff. 77-79, 81. Letter of David, 28 Germinal, an II [Apr. 17, 1794], B.N., MSS, Nouv. Acq. Fr., 28, f. 42. "Observations par Demany du 22 Frimaire, an II [Dec. 12, 1793]," A.N., F⁷ 4443, plaq. 8, pièce 70. "Réponse de David," A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 293, p. 45.

¹⁰³ Walter, "Un Artist sous la terreur," *loc. cit.* (n. 30 above).

culottes of the Quartier Saint-Germain-des-Près that the artist whom they compared to Marat, Danton, and Robespierre was "one of the founders of the Republic and one of the warmest friends of the people."¹⁰⁴

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¹⁰⁴ Letter of Revolutionary Committee of the Section of Unity to the Central Revolutionary Committee of May 31, Paris, June 3, 1793, A.N., BB 380, liasse 6, dos. 5, pièce 2.

The English Mormons in America

M. HAMLIN CANNON

THE Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in the nineteenth century drew most of its converts not from its native America but from Europe.¹ Between 1840 and 1887 it brought 85,220 European converts to the Mormon settlements in the West.² According to Katharine Coman, this represented "the most successful example of regulated immigration in United States history."³ About half the European Mormon emigrants (43,356) were from the British Isles.⁴ It is highly probable that many of these shared the sentiments attributed to a woman member of the pioneer party at first sight of the Great Salt Lake Valley: "Weak and weary as I am, I would rather go a thousand miles farther than remain in such a forsaken place as this."⁵ However, most of the British Mormons truly felt that they had left Babylon behind and that in the mountain fold they had found Zion.

According to Sir Richard Burton, numbers of the British immigrants crossed the plains unaware that they were in the United States, and many of the Welsh during the journey discarded "their blankets and warm clothing, from a conviction that a gay summer reigns throughout the year in Zion."⁶ Some converts from the metropolitan centers of the British Isles knew little of the western part of America. They had heard that it would be necessary to beat off the Indians and had therefore hurriedly purchased the first firearms they saw. The result was frequently unfortunate, and accidents were not uncommon.⁷

When one immigrant train emerged from the mountains and saw before them the valley of the Great Salt Lake, Burton observed that all were in

¹ The methods employed by the Mormon Church in bringing its British converts to America have been described by this writer in the article "Migration of English Mormons to America," *American Historical Review*, LII (April, 1947), 436-55. I am indebted to Dr. Arthur Ekirch and Dr. Louis C. Hunter for the suggestion that the story of the English Mormons in America should be told.

² Milton R. Hunter, *The Mormons and the American Frontier* (Salt Lake City, 1940), p. 188.

³ Katharine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West* (2 vols., New York, 1912), II, 84.

⁴ Richard L. Evans, *A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain* (Salt Lake City, 1937), p. 245.

⁵ Frank J. Cannon, *Brigham Young and His Mormon Empire* (New York, 1913), p. 143. The woman was Harriet Young, the wife of Brigham Young's brother Lorenzo.

⁶ Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and across the Rocky Mountains to California* (London, 1861), p. 279.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

clean clothes and the men had shaved. They went into the valley singing hymns. As they proceeded, the citizens met them, some on foot, others on horseback, and a few in carriages. The crowd marched through the city streets to the temple square, where the leading dignitaries of the Church welcomed them.⁸ Another English traveler describes the scene when an immigrant train had

just arrived, with sixty wagons, four hundred bullocks, six hundred men, women, and children, all English and Welsh. The wagons fill the street; some of the cattle are lying down in the hot sun; the men are eager and excited, having finished their long journey across the sea, across the States, across the prairies, across the mountains; the women and little folks are scorched and wan; dirt, fatigue, privation give them a wild, unearthly look; and you would hardly recognize in this picturesque . . . group the sober Monmouth farmer, the clean Woolwich artisan, the smart London smith.⁹

Bishop Hunter, who was in charge of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund,¹⁰ met all the trains. It was not uncommon, however, for Brigham Young also to bid them welcome.¹¹

After the reports of the commanding officers of the immigrant train had been given, Bishop Hunter went among the immigrants to see whether they were in need of anything. For some he obtained butter, for others tea, and for those who were ill he procured a doctor.¹² After the new arrivals had had a chance to forgather with old acquaintances, Bishop Hunter set about finding employment for them. At a Sabbath meeting in the Tabernacle he would announce that an immigrant train had arrived in the city and ask the bishops of the wards whether they could employ any of the immigrants. "One bishop said he could take five bricklayers, another two carpenters, a third a tinman, a fourth seven or eight farm-servants, and so on. . . ."¹³

For those who could not obtain employment in this manner and who needed temporary assistance, Brigham Young instituted the "Public Works," which consisted of "work-shops, built on Temple Block, in which various mechanical trades are carried on as systematically as in manufacturing establishments in the States."¹⁴ These shops included a carpenter's shop, a blacksmith's shop, a machine shop, and a paint shop. The wages were very low, and one observer felt that the employees in the "Public Works" were "in a

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 275-76.

⁹ William Hepworth Dixon, *New America* (Philadelphia, 1867), p. 140.

¹⁰ The Perpetual Emigrating Fund was a revolving fund from which worthy but poor Saints might borrow the money for their journey to Utah. The loans were to be repaid, either in money or labor, after the emigrant had established himself in the Great Basin.

¹¹ Jules Remy, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City* (2 vols., London, 1861), II, 218.

¹² Dixon, p. 183.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹⁴ Benjamin G. Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons* (New York, 1854), p. 164.

state of almost hopeless servitude.”¹⁵ This judgment, however, appears unfair. For the employment of those who had been farmers, each settlement maintained a “Church Farm.” The one in Salt Lake City comprised eight hundred acres. These farms were also “used as experimental stations where seeds, brought by immigrants from foreign lands, or the mulberry tree, etc., might be raised.”¹⁶

As soon as the newcomers got their “land legs” they were expected to become more independent. Sir Richard Burton asked a Utah acquaintance how the immigrants behaved after they had become somewhat adapted to their new life. The reply he received is illuminating:

All expect to be at the top of the tree at once, and they find themselves in the wrong box; no man gets on here by pushing; he begins at the lowest seat; a new hand is not trusted; he is first sent on a mission, then married, and then allowed to rise higher if he shows himself useful.¹⁷

To all of them, Utah was far different from what they had imagined. Even the food was strange. One new arrival was given a slice of watermelon by Brigham Young, and he “hardly knew how to go to work upon the piece.”¹⁸ William Atkin, another emigrant from the British Isles, tells a delightful story of his first American meal:

At our first dinner there was meat and vegetables, fruit, butter, and everything necessary to make a good common every day dinner, and to this what looked like a very nice yellow cake, and this I noticed some were eating with meat and vegetables, and putting butter on it, and I had heard in the old country how extravagant the American people were in some things and I certainly thought that this was the height of American extravagance in very deed, and they of course, passed it to me. I said nothing but thought in my own mind, a piece of it would be very nice, indeed, for a finish to a good mean [meal]; accordingly when I had eaten all I needed, except as I supposed, a small piece of this nice cake, I then took a piece of it, but lo, my surprise! For what I supposed was a beautiful cake when I tasted, it was rough and course [*sic*] enough to be made out of saw dust and then I saw at [a] glance it needed both butter and meat and all the good things you could get to help it on its downward road. On enquiring afterwards on what they called that sawdust affair, she informed me it was a corn dodger of yellow corn and you can rest assured that I certainly dodged it for a long while after that. . . .¹⁹

Many of the newcomers were sheltered by old friends from the British Isles. Others lived in the wagons in which they had crossed the plains until they could locate a more permanent home. Such was the case of Thomas

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹⁶ Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1939), p. 230.

¹⁷ Burton, p. 278.

¹⁸ Christopher J. Arthur, “Autobiography,” manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 6.

¹⁹ “Biography of William Atkin,” manuscript, Library of Congress, pp. 18–19.

Briggs, who arrived in Utah in 1864. After living in his wagon for the first two weeks, he rented a one-room house for three dollars a month. He had no furniture, and so his family used the box in which their clothing had been packed as a table. Chairs were provided by boring holes in small slabs of lumber and inserting sticks as legs. The family made their beds on the floor. Briggs's first job was husking corn for a friend, who gave him every sixth bushel as his share.²⁰ Henry Savage, who had obtained a house rent-free from Bishop Hunter, secured his first job helping to dig the foundations of the Salt Lake Temple.²¹ John Hinton rented a one-room house in Salt Lake City in 1861. He was an excellent carpenter and was able to find work immediately with the leading mechanic in the city.²² In his spare time he made all the furniture for the family. He also made a beautiful table which he wished to sell. Although everyone admired it, none could afford it. However, a Colonel Reese, who disbursed "provisions to the soldiers . . . had flour and bacon left, so he bought the table, paying them enough flour and bacon to do them the entire winter of 1861 and 2."²³ Hinton worked in Salt Lake City for a year, but wages were so small and fuel so hard to obtain that he moved to the southern part of the Territory in an effort to better his fortune.

Isaac Hunt, who arrived in the fall of 1852, fell in love with a young lady who had been in his immigrant train. When he asked Brigham Young whether it would be all right if he took a wife, the latter replied, "Yes, two or three if you like." While this interview was taking place, the prospective bride was purchasing household utensils, which "consisted of six tin plates, a stew kettle, and some spoons." Between them the couple already possessed four knives and forks, a bake skillet, a feather pillow, a straw tick or mattress and a straw pillow. The latter was so hard that it made their ears "sore to sleep on it."²⁴

It was not expected that the immigrants should remain indefinitely in Salt Lake City. After they had become somewhat accustomed to life in the environs of the Mormon capital, they were counseled to move to less developed parts of the territory controlled by Brigham Young. The colonies set up by the Church authorities were of two classes. The first group might be considered way stations for the assistance of those who were traveling to Utah. A system of settlements extended from San Bernardino, California, to

²⁰ George C. Lambert, *Precious Memories* (Salt Lake City, 1914), p. 32.

²¹ Nephi Miles Savage, "Memoirs of Henry Savage and Family," manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 25.

²² "Memories of John Hock Hinton and Emma Spendlove," manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 3.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁴ "Biography of Isaac Hunt," manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 3.

Salt Lake City for the benefit of those who traveled by water to California and thence overland to Salt Lake City. Another series of colonies, in reality an extension of the same chain, reached from Salt Lake City eastward to Florence, Nebraska. Many of the settlements in this first class became permanent towns and integral parts of the second class of Brigham Young's colonization scheme. The settlements of the second class were to be "built up" so as to furnish homes and livelihood for those who gathered to Zion, and also to help Zion to become economically self-sufficient—a long-cherished desire of the Mormon leader.

Before sending out a colonizing party, it was Brigham Young's custom first to dispatch an exploring expedition to locate suitable sites for towns. This party would survey the water supply, fertility of the soil, proximity to the timber supply, and various topographical features of the area. The scouting party would then return and make a formal report.²⁵ If the prospectus was deemed favorable, Young organized the areas selected for settlements into large territorial divisions and "placed the responsibility of settlement in the hands of apostles."²⁶

The methods of choosing the colonizers varied. Sometimes President Young would appoint each member of the party. At other times only the leader would be appointed, and he in turn would select the rest of the group.²⁷ The colonizers were considered as missionaries. They were supposed to stay in the place to which they were sent until they received an official release from the First Presidency of the Church.

Pains were taken to make sure that each colonizing company had a proper balance of industrial and agricultural workers, including men skilled in the various crafts that would be needed in the settlement.

In establishing new settlements like Saint George, men were usually selected from nearly every older community in Utah. Then the group was augmented by immigrants who had recently arrived at Salt Lake. This resulted in a mixture of the experienced frontiersmen and a certain number of novices in pioneer life. In this way Brigham was able to take care of the stream of immigrants flowing continuously into Salt Lake and at the same time to assure the success of the colonial projects.²⁸

Only a small minority of those who came from the British Isles knew anything about agriculture. The majority were either miners or factory workers. In a group of 2,282 British emigrants only 173 were farmers, garden-

²⁵ Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia, 1852), p. 142.

²⁶ Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young, the Colonizer* (Salt Lake City, 1940), p. 57.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

ers, and shepherds.²⁹ To help take care of the mechanics and artisans who migrated in ever-increasing numbers, and at the same time to advance his dream of making Deseret self-sufficient, Brigham Young devised various schemes. The Public Works has already been mentioned. Another interesting experiment was the "Iron Mission." One of the greatest needs in the Great Basin was for iron, which was required for the manufacture of grist mills, sawmills, and other urgent necessities. An exploring expedition under Parley P. Pratt had discovered iron ore in the southern part of Utah, about 220 miles from Salt Lake City. On July 27, 1850, Brigham Young called for fifty or more volunteers, "full of faith and good works," to found a colony. The settlers, he said, were "to sow, build and fence; erect a saw and grist mill, establish an iron foundry as speedily as possible and do all other acts and things necessary for the preservation and safety of an infant settlement. . . ." The following classes of settlers were desired:

Farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, joiners, millwrights, bloomers, moulders, smelters, stone-cutters, brick-layers, stone masons, one shoemaker, one tailor and others of various occupations, who have the means and are willing to sacrifice the society of wives and children for one year, (believing that he who forsakes wife and children for the sake of the Kingdom of God shall receive an hundred fold). . . .³⁰

Apostles George Albert Smith and Ezra Benson were selected to head the expedition. They thought that there should be more men than specified in the original plan. In November there was published in the *Deseret News* a long list of applicants who had been accepted, together with the following notice:

Wanted: one hundred men, ready to start on the first day of December, with five hundred bushels of wheat, thirty thousand pounds of bread stuff, or three hundred pounds to each person; 34 plows, 17 drag teeth, one ax, spade, shovel and hoe to each man; one millwright, five carpenters and joiners; two blacksmiths; two shoemakers, and one surveyor, each with tools; 4 top and pit sawyers, with saw, one stone-cutter, two masons, grain and grass scythes, sickles and pitch forks, fifty each, one gun and two hundred pounds [rounds?] of ammunition for each man; fifty horses, twenty-five pair of holster pistols, one gunsmith, one cow to two persons, fifty beef cattle, potatoes and seed of the ball [?]; radish, beets, squash and garden seeds of all kinds; also Henry Miller with his threshing machine next year.³¹

On December 8, 1850, Apostle Smith led the colonizing party of thirty families out of Salt Lake City. It included 118 men with 600 head of stock and 101 wagons. In the following January they "arrived at, and settled the

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³⁰ *Deseret News*, July 27, 1850, quoted in Gustive O. Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom* (Francetown, N. H., 1947), p. 171.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72.

county of, Iron, by building a fort at Parowan."³² The settlers then began to build homes and to prepare for farming in the spring. It was not until November that they began preparations for building the iron blast furnace. The first successful run of iron from the furnace was on September 29, 1852—almost two years since the party left Salt Lake City. The Deseret Iron Company was incorporated in England, and the British Saints were urged to buy stock in the new company. The Iron Mission lasted until 1868, but it was never fully successful.³³

As soon as the immigrants reached the valley, they were expected to begin to assist in the building of Zion. "The first duty of a Saint when he comes to this valley," said Brigham Young, "is to learn how to grow a vegetable, after which he must learn how to rear pigs and fowls, to irrigate his land, and to build up his house."³⁴ The new arrivals were also "taught to regard England as Egypt, and their old dwelling-place as exile from a brighter home. America is to them Canaan, Salt Lake City a new Jerusalem."³⁵ In 1855 an army officer formed the opinion that Brigham Young kept the converts in severe subjugation. "The great mass of the people are quiet good men, chiefly foreigners of the lower orders, who *do in all things* exactly as they are told by Brigham Young and his many apostles and elders. . . . The *task masters* . . . are ever on the alert, and give them no rest. . . ."³⁶

There is no doubt that the motives of many of the converts who came to Utah were economic as well as religious. The emigrants from the British Isles were often disappointed in the soil of Utah Territory. They considered it a "mean land," hard and dry.³⁷ Chandless, the British traveler who visited Utah in the 1850's, became interested in knowing what those who had recently arrived in the Territory "thought of the place, and their reasons for having joined Mormonism."³⁸ In the immediate neighborhood of the place where he was staying in Salt Lake City there were a cabinetmaker, a carpenter, a Nottingham stocking-weaver, a Cornish miner, and a Yorkshire tailor, who formed excellent subjects for his study.

"The cabinet-maker had a good opinion of Mormonism, and a better of himself." He had left his wife in the old country because she refused to join the Church. He was a hard worker, not a grumbler, and he spent his leisure time reading. His was "a restless, ambitious temperament, and if he had not

³² George Albert Smith, *The Rise, Progress, and Travels of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 1869), p. 18.

³³ Larson, pp. 176-80.

³⁴ Dixon, p. 166.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70.

³⁶ House of Representatives, *Executive Document* no. 1, 34 Congress, 1 session, p. 167.

³⁷ Burton, p. 343.

³⁸ William Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake* (London, 1857), p. 210.

been a Mormon, would certainly have been a Chartist, and an unfavorable specimen of that."³⁹

The carpenter was a "cheerful, honest little fellow," who believed everything about the Mormon religion with childlike simplicity. He had come to the Great Basin because he was told to do so, and "if ordered elsewhere, would go as a matter of course."

The tailor was a Yorkshireman who was more interested in horse racing than in Mormonism. Chandless thought that he "must have become a 'Saint' when oblivious to the outer world, and on that one point remained intoxicated ever since." He professed a great admiration for the Book of Mormon and considered its beauty far superior to that of the Bible. In reality, however, he knew nothing about either book.⁴⁰

The stocking-weaver and the miner were older men who had left their wives and children to wait in the British Isles until they could be sent for. Neither man could find his own kind of work and consequently became very dissatisfied with Salt Lake. The weaver had finally obtained work as a farm-hand at two hundred dollars a year and "found." One of the members of the Church had offered to stand surety for the money necessary to bring his family to Utah, and so that problem was solved.⁴¹

The miner was illiterate. He had been a member of the Church of England but had become embittered when a clergyman of that faith asked for money before reading the services at the funeral of the miner's brother. The brother was buried "without a word said over him." When the miner heard that the Saints charged nothing for their services, he was immediately baptized without knowing anything of Mormon doctrine. His present opinion was that the doctrine was "right enough, but the rate of wages at Salt Lake was all wrong. He would sooner merely keep body and soul together through the winter, than let any one have his labour below its value; he would die sooner than work for his board: d——n the odds. . . ."⁴²

In the main, the British Mormon immigrants found conditions in Utah Territory to be similar to those elsewhere on the American frontier. Those who were already in the Great Basin were having a difficult time conquering the arid country. The adversities the newcomers suffered were common to many of the other settlers of the western regions, but probably seemed more severe to them, coming as they did from the older communities of England, than to those whose former life had been spent in the states bordering the American frontier.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 210–11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 212–13.

Christopher Lester Riding, a British immigrant, went to St. George, in the southern part of Utah Territory, in the year 1862. He built himself a 12' x 15' dugout, which he thatched with a willow roof. This, with a tent and a willow shed, sheltered his first wife with six children and his second wife with two babies. As there was not enough work to be had, he created his own business by procuring a four-wheeled cart and an ox. He loaded the cart with tinware which he had made himself and traveled through the southern settlements, exchanging his wares for flour, butter, cheese, and other commodities. His stock consisted of buckets, milk cans, tin cups and plates, bread cans, lamps, coffeepots, canteens, and washboards. Since sheet tin was scarce, people saved their tin cans and other metalware of all kinds for him.⁴³

In 1855 the crops of many of the settlers were endangered by a grasshopper plague. John Johnson Davies was one of those who suffered. He later recounted the story of those hard times:

Many had to dig roots to sustain life. I had to do that myself. I went to the field to watter my corn I got very week and started for home and when I got to the house I met my little daughter, Martha, in the door and she ask me for some bread and there was no bread in the house. This was a trying time for us. I took a sack and started out and said I will get some flower before I'll come back. I went to Sister Marler all she had in the house was twenty pounds of flower and one lofe of bread she gave me half of what she had in the house and When I got home my wife Smiled. Then we had a good breakfast.⁴⁴

The family of Henry Savage also experienced those hard times. Once when there was no food in the house, the mother borrowed a plateful of flour from a neighbor and made a pancake for a child who was ill. Times eventually grew better, but the memory of the earlier period never left the mother. She would not allow a bit of food to be thrown away that could be eaten by either man or animal, and in mixing bread would not waste a speck of flour or a scrap of dough.⁴⁵

The mother of Kezia Giles Carrol became very sick. In her last illness she used to murmur, "O if I could have just a scrapping of butter on my bread, I might get well," but no butter was to be had.⁴⁶ During those trying times, the husband of Eliza Mathews Smith was trying to build his family a house before the birth of the baby. Only the walls were up when a severe storm came up. During the storm the baby was born. Smith placed a wagon

⁴³ "Life of Christopher Lester Riding," manuscript, Library of Congress.

⁴⁴ John Johnson Davies, "Historical Sketch of My Life," manuscript, Library of Congress, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁵ Savage, "Memoirs of Henry Savage and Family," manuscript, Library of Congress, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁶ "Life of Kezia Giles Carrol," manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 26.

cover over the bed, the only protection he could devise. Mrs. Smith lay ill for days and "never recovered her health again."⁴⁷

Such incidents as the foregoing were not uncommon in Utah Territory up to the time of the coming of the railroad in 1868. For the first two decades of their existence, it was not certain that the Mormon settlements in Utah would become permanent. Although the great majority of the converts adjusted themselves to the conditions they found, some murmured against the iron rule of Brigham Young. The Mormon leader lashed out against these rebels in a sermon on March 23, 1853: "I say rather than that apostates should flourish here, I will unsheath my bowie knife and conquer or die."⁴⁸ It is not known whether Brigham literally meant what he said. At any rate, each spring saw a few of the converts leave the Utah settlements for the gold fields of California or for other western states. An even smaller percentage would head for the east, and of these a tiny fraction returned to the old country.

In 1858 Alfred Cumming, the new governor of Utah Territory, heard that a number of converts were being restrained in the territory against their wishes. He accordingly had the following notice read to the people on a Sunday in the Tabernacle:

It has been reported to me that there are persons residing in this and other parts of the Territory who are illegally restrained of their liberty. It is therefore proper that I should announce that I assume the protection of all such persons, if any there be, and request that they will communicate with me their names and place of residence, under seal, through Mr. Fay Worthen, or to me in person during my stay in the city.

A. CUMMING,
Governor of Utah Territory.⁴⁹

Following this announcement, Governor Cumming kept his office open "at all hours of the day and night." As a result, he registered fifty-six men, thirty-three women, and seventy-one children who sought assistance in proceeding to the states. The large majority of them "were of English birth" who stated that they wished to leave Utah in order "to improve their circumstances, and realize elsewhere more money by their labor." Some of the leading Mormons offered "to furnish them flour and assist them in leaving the country."⁵⁰

In the same year that Brigham Young issued his famous statement against apostates (1853), there arrived from England a semiliterate convert named

⁴⁷ "Life of Eliza Mathews Smith," manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 1.

⁴⁸ *Deseret News*, Apr. 2, 1853.

⁴⁹ Governor A. Cumming to Secretary of State Lewis Cass, May 2, 1858, Senate *Executive Document* no. 1, 35 Congress, 2 session, I, Pt. 2, p. 94.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

Joseph Morris, who was to arise as a minor prophet in opposition to Brigham. Morris went to San Pete County, where he drifted from job to job. One of his disciples said:

It was difficult for him to procure sufficient means to keep himself respectably clad. He acknowledged himself as a deficient and helpless infant in temporal gifts, and stated that somebody must make the temporal preparation before the people could receive the spiritual benefits of his mission; so he wandered up and down, foot-worn and weary, as a pilgrim and stranger.⁵¹

During 1856 and 1857 the Latter-Day Saints underwent a reformation, a large-scale revival in which every man confessed his sins and was rebaptized into the Church. Morris became deeply immersed in this religious ecstasy and according to his statement "had continual visitations from the Lord."⁵² The revelations which he constantly received he sent on to Brigham Young,⁵³ and he asked to be included in the inner councils of the Church.⁵⁴ According to Stenhouse, Young dismissed Morris with an obscene remark.⁵⁵

For two and a half years Morris continued to pepper Young "with the designs and purposes of the Almighty."⁵⁶ In the fall of 1860 he was on his way to Salt Lake City to deliver two of his latest revelations to Brigham when he met a John Cook, who invited him to visit his home in Weber County. There he met Cook's brother Richard, who was a bishop. The Cook brothers believed Morris to be a man of God and invited others to hear him.⁵⁷ In the next few months Morris preached to crowded congregations. Many believed that he had been called by the Lord to supplant Brigham Young. The sermons of the new prophet emphasized three things—that the second advent of the Lord was imminent, that Brigham Young was a false prophet, and that Morris would lead an armed force against the Brighamites and would emerge victorious. Then this army would conquer Utah, next the United States, and finally the world.

Morris communed daily with the Lord—frequently twice a day. Stenhouse describes the results:

Morris abounded with revelations. His "gifts" exceeded in profusion those of all who had ever gone before him. The founder of Mormonism was nothing in comparison with his disciple from Wales.⁵⁸ The adherents of the new prophet

⁵¹ Joseph Morris, *The "Spirit Prevails"* (San Francisco, 1886), p. 3.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 670.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 671.

⁵⁴ Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints* (Chicago, 1942), p. 223.

⁵⁵ T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints* (London, [1873]), p. 594.

⁵⁶ Morris, p. 671.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 672.

⁵⁸ Joseph Morris was born at Borswardly, Cheshire, England, and brought up near the border of Wales. Nearly all writers on the Morrisites have mistakenly assumed Morris to be a Welshman.

were perfectly overjoyed at the abundance of light that now shone upon their path, and some very intelligent men gathered to the Weber. Three English and three Danish clerks were daily employed in writing the heavenly communications from the mouth of the new prophet. Brigham had been barren—Morris was overflowing.⁵⁹

The revelations, which were generally two or three pages long, reek of blood and thunder. The following, which is fairly typical, is chosen because of its brevity:

An Expression from the Army of Heaven,
WEBER, UTAH, February 4th, 1862.

We are coming! we are coming! we are coming to war! We shall make a slaughter. Therefore, look out for us. We are the warriors of heaven, the sons of the Eternal Father, whose right it is to reign. We understand your feelings, and we will speedily put them at rest. Look out for us, for lo, we come, we come, we come quickly—even the warriors of heaven. Even so. Amen and Amen.⁶⁰

From September, 1860, to June, 1862, Morris had about three hundred revelations from God. At least, that number have been preserved. According to one of his disciples, there were many others which the scribes failed to record.⁶¹ One revelation stated that the believers should gather at the mouth of the Weber River, and as a result many of Morris' followers began to assemble there. John L. Bear, one of the disciples, described the group: "The majority of us . . . came to Utah in 1860 and 1861 from the British Isles, Scandinavia, a few Germans and Swiss, quite a number of Danes. . . . Yet there were some who had lived in Utah quite a number of years and were born Americans."⁶² One of the most noted of the group was John Banks, who had been a prominent missionary in England and at one time was president of the Edinburgh Conference.⁶³ Approximately five hundred followers of Morris gathered on the bottom lands of the Weber River.⁶⁴ Their leader was acclaimed as a true prophet of God and His personal representative on earth. John Banks and Richard Cook were appointed counselors to Morris.

The site selected for the gathering was far from choice. There was practically no unoccupied farming land in the vicinity; however, there is no indication that the disciples of Joseph Morris intended to farm. They built

⁵⁹ Stenhouse, p. 594.

⁶⁰ Morris, p. 403.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶² "Autobiography of John L. Bear," *Journal of History*, IV (1911), 199.

⁶³ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 409.

⁶⁴ The exact number is not known. John L. Bear states that there were 525. Mrs. C. V. Waite, in *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem* (Cambridge, Mass., 1866), estimates that there were between 300 and 500. Bancroft (p. 616) gives the number as 500; and *The "Spirit Pre-views"* shows the total as 425.

themselves brush huts and, except for a few household chores, did nothing but await the coming of the Lord, which they believed to be imminent. Their dwellings were arranged in a quadrangular area in the manner of a fort. In the center were a schoolhouse and a tent which was used as a meeting place.⁶⁵

The Morrisites held all their property in common, and the supply of foodstuffs daily decreased. Morris continued to prophesy that the Second Advent was nigh, "but the Lord tarried."⁶⁶ Meanwhile Morris organized the men into a military unit which would be ready to fight for the Lord upon His appearance.⁶⁷

Brigham Young sent Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor to visit the settlement. After their inspection all members of the Weber community were excommunicated from the Church.⁶⁸ Some of Morris' followers became disaffected and wished to withdraw and take with them what they had put into the common fund. It was decided to let the dissenters depart, but some of them took the best cattle and seized the wagons of the other brethren which were on their way to the mill laden with wheat. Three erstwhile members were seized and taken to the "fort."

Appeals were unsuccessfully made for their release. The friends of the prisoners thereupon secured warrants for the arrest of Joseph Morris, John Banks, and other Morrisite leaders. The sheriff of Salt Lake County, Robert Burton,⁶⁹ was ordered to enforce the writs. With a posse of three or four hundred men and five pieces of artillery, he went to the settlement and demanded the surrender of the leaders, warning them of the consequences of refusal. Morris withdrew to his dwelling and after a few minutes reappeared with a revelation to the effect that his followers would remain unharmed. Colonel Burton's demand was refused.⁷⁰ A few moments later, Burton answered with artillery fire. For three days the posse besieged the settlement, wounding some of the Morrisites and killing others. The only defenses the Morrisites had were some shotguns and a few Mexican firelocks. Throughout the engagement Morris continued to tell his people that he was in constant communication with God and that He would assist them. On the third day he announced receipt of the following revelation:

My faithful people have nearly spent their physical strength, and used up their ammunition, and when they have done so, and are not able to defend them-

⁶⁵ Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (4 vols., Salt Lake City, 1892-1904), II, 49.

⁶⁶ Bancroft, p. 616.

⁶⁷ Morris, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Whitney, II, 50.

⁶⁹ He was also a prominent member of the Nauvoo Legion, the Mormon army.

⁷⁰ Bancroft, pp. 616-17.

selves against their enemies any longer, they will have done their own part and will be pronounced faithful before me, having done their duty. Until my people have come to this point, I cannot lawfully come to their release. A people must spend their own strength and means before they have a lawful claim on me for assistance, and when they have done so, I am compelled by law to come and assist them. If I should fail to do so at that time, I should break the law, and that a celestial messenger cannot do, if he could, he would be a sinner, and no sinner can exist in heaven. . . .⁷¹

Despite Morris' pleading, his followers believed that their cause was lost, and on the evening of the third day raised the white flag of surrender. After the surrender, their weapons were taken from them and the men were separated. Thereupon the posse killed Morris and Banks, as well as two of the women who tried to protect them. Ten of the Morrisites and two of the posse had been killed. The remaining Morrisite men were taken to jail.⁷² Seven of them were found guilty of second degree murder, and sixty-six were fined one hundred dollars and committed to jail until the fines were paid. Two were acquitted.⁷³

The Morrisite settlement was broken up and the membership became scattered. General Patrick Connor, who was in command of the Federal troops in Utah Territory during the Civil War, invited them to settle near Soda Springs in Idaho, where they might have protection of the Army. Accordingly, about forty families settled there and built a small community which they called Morristown. Crops were bad and the settlers gradually drifted away. By 1891 there were only about six Morrisite families in the area, and in 1930, none of the original families was left.⁷⁴

Although the story of the Morrisites is a tragic one, it should be remembered that the followers of Joseph Morris were but a small percentage of the Mormons who came from Europe. The others were better able to adapt themselves to the conditions in Utah. Many of them rose to high positions in church and state, and all of them contributed to the culture of Utah.

It is of interest to note that Brigham Young, although anxious to unify the diverse peoples who made up his empire, did not make much use of education as a unifying force. It must be recognized that Young had little respect for men with an intellectual background. On one occasion he said:

⁷¹ Morris, pp. 629-30.

⁷² "The male Morrisite Saints were marched into Salt Lake City, and were about the most forlorn, mud-bespattered procession that ever tramped the earth—the wretched victims of maximum faith and minimum brains." J. F. Gibbs, *Lights and Shadows of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, 1909), p. 245.

⁷³ Bancroft, p. 618.

⁷⁴ Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1941), p. 541.

Professor Orson Pratt has told you that there are many books in the world, and I tell you that there are many inhabitants in the world; he tells you that there is something in all these books, and I tell you that each of these inhabitants has a name; he tells you that it would be well for you to learn this something, and I tell you that it would be quite as useful for you to learn the names of these inhabitants. Were I to live as long as Methuselah, and were I to learn every hour of my life something new from these books, and were I able to remember all that I had learnt, I should not after all know as much as I could learn in five minutes from revelation.⁷⁵

However, there were a few adult schools in the Territory in which qualified men "who . . . exercised the vocation of teachers in England" gave instruction on the arts and sciences.⁷⁶ In addition, there were many institutes, generally very short-lived, in which the new arrivals were instructed in the cultivation of the soil and other agricultural pursuits.

The meetinghouse in each ward served as a focal center. Here the assimilation of the immigrants was best accomplished. The bishop of the ward was in a very real sense the shepherd of his flock. He looked out for both the spiritual and temporal wants of his congregation. At least once a month each family was visited by one of the "ward-teachers" who inquired into its affairs. If help was needed, the teacher reported to the bishop, who saw that aid was forthcoming. If the members were remiss in their religious duties, the bishop came to urge them back into the fold.

In addition to religious services, the meetinghouse was frequently used as the schoolhouse and recreational center of the community. For the very young there was a primary school as well as classes in religion, where the children received instruction and played together. For the older children the Mutual Improvement Associations served the same purposes. Women belonged to the Relief Society—a remarkably efficient Ladies' Aid. For the men there were the meetings of the Priesthood. In addition there were choir practices, genealogical meetings, and other meetings of like nature. Being a good Mormon was a full-time job. It is not surprising then that the assimilation of the foreign converts was quickly and efficiently completed.

The British converts had many contributions to make to Mormon culture. In the realm of the arts, their greatest contributions were in the fields of music and drama.⁷⁷ The best-loved hymn of the Mormons, "Come, Come Ye Saints," was written by William Clayton, a British convert who was the amanuensis of Brigham Young. The early British immigrants "developed an

⁷⁵ Remy, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City*, II, 176–77.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁷⁷ William J. McNiff has discussed the cultural aspects of the Mormon society in his *Heaven on Earth* (Oxford, Ohio, 1940), pp. 59–194.

interest in worthy music among the Mormon people which has persisted to the present."⁷⁸ The well-known Tabernacle Choir of Salt Lake City was started and furthered by the converts, many of whom were from Wales. Most of the Mormon hymns were composed by British converts.

The influence of the British proselyte was also felt in the field of drama. Phil Margetts, a British immigrant of the 1850's, organized the Mechanics Dramatic Association without the prior approval of Brigham Young. There was no reason to believe that Young would be opposed to the dramatic society, but Margetts, wishing to avert any disapproval on the part of the Mormon dictator, invited him to attend one of the performances. Brigham came and liked it so well that he accepted an invitation to return with his family and that of Heber C. Kimball on the following evening. "The next night the two families . . . arrived,—*ninety* in all, and although they crowded the little theater beyond its capacity they managed to squeeze them in."⁷⁹ Brigham Young became a convert to the drama, and shortly afterward, in 1862, built the Salt Lake Theater, which until its destruction in 1929 was host to the leading theatrical artists of the United States and Europe, as well as home talent.⁸⁰

One of the most bitter of the anti-Mormon writers, John H. Beadle, thought that the English Mormon emigrants to America lived "quite well" and that the majority of the American-born Mormons failed "to come up to the English standard."⁸¹ A British traveler computed that in September, 1879, of Mormons holding Church office, at least forty-two presidents, counselors, and bishops in eleven of the stakes were British born. In Salt Lake Stake, which embraced Salt Lake City, thirteen of the twenty-one bishops had been born in Great Britain.⁸²

In spite of the strong contrast to their former way of life, the British Mormons, on the whole, seem to have adjusted themselves reasonably well to their new environment. Undoubtedly the possession of a common religion and a common language with others in Utah Territory, combined with the daily paternalistic supervision of their Church leaders, made their adjustment easier.

Washington, D. C.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁷⁹ George Pyper, *The Romance of an Old Playhouse* (Salt Lake City, 1928), pp. 77-78.

⁸⁰ The theater was torn down in 1929 to make way for a filling station.

⁸¹ J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah: or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, 1870), p. 269.

⁸² W. G. Marshall, *Through America, or Nine Months in the United States* (London, 1881), p. 228.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Simeon E. Baldwin and the Clerical Control of Yale*

FREDERICK H. JACKSON

THE late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought a number of far-reaching changes to American colleges and universities. Important among these was the shift in the control of many institutions from the clergy to the laity.¹

Until the middle of the last century higher education in America was almost completely in clerical hands. Only one college from the colonial period, Franklin's College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), was controlled by laymen.² The number of secularly dominated institutions coming into existence during the national period to 1850 was small, while the denominationally sponsored and controlled institutions multiplied rapidly.³

Although many of these had originally been conceived primarily as theological schools, by the middle of the century (and sometimes much earlier), the ministerial students of most had become a minority. At Yale it was no longer true as early as 1745 that a majority of its graduates became clergymen.⁴

Among the factors leading to the secularization of American higher education was the expanding influence of the large and ever-growing nonclerical alumni body of the colleges. This group increasingly resented the clergy's dominance of the institutions and demanded a share in the control of their *alma maters*. In the post-Civil War period alumni pressure helped produce significant changes in the structure of the governing bodies of some colleges.

Another force in this revolutionary change in the control of American higher education was the financial assistance contributed to it by the rising industrial aristocracy in America. After the northern victory in 1865 the age was dominated by the entrepreneurs of the Northeast. Every other aspect of American life receded in importance before the nation's rapidly multiplying

*I am indebted to Professor G. W. Pierson of Yale for several suggestions relating to this paper and for generously supplying information from his studies in Yale history.

¹ An editorial in the *Nation*, no. 1046, July 16, 1885, p. 47, comments at length on this trend.

² Charles F. Thwing, *A History of Higher Education in America* (New York, 1906), pp. 112-13.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 231 ff.

⁴ Simeon E. Baldwin, "The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Yale College," *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, III (1882), 419.

industrial machine. With the growth of large fortunes incident to this development the American colleges turned increasingly to their wealthy alumni for sustenance. The growing dependence upon the purses of prominent laymen made the colleges more vulnerable to the demand that they be controlled and in some cases actually headed by members of the new industrial aristocracy.⁵

Still another factor in the shift of control was the defensive position Protestant orthodoxy found itself in as a result of the attack on it brought forth by the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859. Men were doubting the faiths of their fathers, some turning away from religion altogether. The clergy, especially that portion of it which refused to make any concessions to Darwinism, was more and more looked upon as hopelessly antiquated and unfitted to set policy for institutions of higher learning.

Representative of the trend toward secularization of control are the developments at Yale. The Corporation of that institution before 1872 consisted of the president, ten clerical Fellows, the six senior state senators, and the governor and lieutenant governor of Connecticut, both *ex officio*. The president and the clerical Fellows had always been Congregational ministers who resided in Connecticut. The principal changes by which the president and a majority of the Corporation became laymen took place during the forty years between 1870 and 1910.

The first step in modifying the composition of the Corporation was the substitution in 1872 of six elected alumni Fellows for the six senior state senators. The latter with the governor and lieutenant governor had sat on the Yale Corporation since 1792 in consequence of the university's receiving some financial assistance from the state.⁶ The senators had proved in many instances to be unacquainted with and uninterested in the affairs of Yale, their attendance at Corporation meetings fell off, and it was generally acknowledged that their presence on the college's governing body was not beneficial. It was their seats which became the first target of the Yale alumni when, after the Civil War, they became more insistent that they be given a voice in basic college policy.

Before the Corporation acceded to the demand for alumni representation, at least one unsuccessful sortie was made by the alumni. This took place in 1870, and on the day after commencement Simeon E. Baldwin, a graduate of the class of 1861, wrote that the movement to put the election of a part of the Fellows of the college into the hands of the alumni had come to an

⁵ An editorial in the *Nation*, no. 1046, July 16, 1885, p. 48, treats of this movement.

⁶ Franklin B. Dexter, *Sketch of the History of Yale University* (New York, 1887), pp. 44-46.

end for the present. The oldsters, he observed, were satisfied with things as they were.⁷

A year later the Corporation capitulated, and at its request the Connecticut general assembly in 1871 and 1872 altered the Yale charter so that six alumni Fellows might be elected in place of the six state senators. With the enactment of this legislation the first major modification in Yale's governing body since 1792 was consummated. This action was greeted with almost universal satisfaction. It placated the advocates of moderate reform and relegated the proponents of more radical change to the position of a small minority for the time being.⁸

But if the liberals won a victory in the matter of alumni Fellows, they suffered a defeat when a new president of Yale was elected in 1871. The two foremost candidates were Noah Porter and Daniel Coit Gilman, both excellent representatives of "old Yale" and "young Yale," respectively. Sixty at the time, Porter was a Congregational minister and a professor of philosophy and theology. Gilman was forty, a professor of geography, and the favorite of the younger Yale alumni and faculty. Porter was chosen by Yale, but in the following year Gilman became president of the University of California and soon thereafter the first president of Johns Hopkins, which he succeeded in making one of America's great universities.⁹ There were many Yale men who believed that had Gilman been chosen Yale would have become the foremost university in America in the late nineteenth century. Under Porter it continued to hold to the ways of the past and to make innovations with reluctance.

After the 1872 changes, the Yale Corporation was composed of the president, the governor and lieutenant governor, the six elected alumni Fellows, and the ten self-perpetuating clerical Fellows. It was generally believed by the Corporation that the charter of Yale made it mandatory that both the president and the permanent Fellows be chosen from Congregational ministers residing in Connecticut. In view of this, suggestions that the Corporation be further secularized were always met by the objection that it would be impossible without a further amendment of the charter by the state legislature.

This was the state of affairs in 1881 when Simeon E. Baldwin, prominent New Haven attorney, professor of law at Yale, and historian by avocation,¹⁰

⁷ Simeon E. Baldwin to his mother, Emily P. Baldwin, July 22, 1870. Manuscripts cited are from the Baldwin Collection, Yale University Library.

⁸ Dexter, p. 80. See also the section on the institution's history in the annual catalogue of Yale University.

⁹ Morris Hadley, *Arthur Twining Hadley* (New Haven, 1948), pp. 102-103.

¹⁰ Baldwin was one of the principal founders and president of the American Bar Association. He was also president of the American Historical Association, American Political Science

read a paper before the New Haven Colony Historical Society on April 25, 1881, entitled "The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Yale College."¹¹ This proved to be a bombshell, for in it Baldwin maintained that after carefully examining the Yale charter and other fundamental acts he could find no necessity for either the president or any other member of the Yale Corporation being a clergyman.

While the act of 1701, under which Yale was founded, and a supplementary one of 1723 clearly provided that the ten Fellows be ministers residing in the colony, the revised charter of 1745 was silent on these matters. The mid-eighteenth century was a time of much religious controversy in Connecticut, and in order to secure the granting of the new charter by the legislature, the petitioners at Yale, Baldwin surmised, decided to say nothing about religion. With its governing body composed solely of ministers who were self-perpetuating, the college probably felt it could afford to leave to its own discretion all questions of succession.¹²

After tracing the changes of 1792 and 1871-1872 in the composition of Yale's governing body, Baldwin summarized his findings:

No qualifications, as respects eligibility to the presidency, are, so far as I can see, imposed by the existing laws, nor any for the position of Fellow, except as to the six elected by the graduates of the university, who must themselves be graduates of one of its departments.

The original Trustees were necessarily ministers of the gospel, living in Connecticut, by the express terms of the Acts of 1701 and 1723; though they were not required to be of the Congregational faith. Any Protestant minister could have been elected to the board, and Rector Cutler [the president was called rector prior to 1745] evidently did not deem his own intention to take orders in the Church of England, as incompatible with his right to remain in office.

But after 1745 there were no longer any Trustees. At the request of those then holding that position, the office was abolished, and replaced by that of Fellow of a corporation, clothed with different powers and limitations. The religious qualifications attached only to the Trustees, and when they disappeared, that, in my opinion, disappeared with them.

The same, of course, would be true, also, as respects the President.¹³

That Baldwin was writing to help clear the way for liberalization of the Corporation while at the same time not arousing the enmity of the ministerial Fellows is indicated by the concluding sentences of his article.

Association, Association of American Law Schools, and the International Law Association. He wrote voluminously on historical, constitutional, legal, and current problems. He was chief justice of Connecticut's Supreme Court and twice governor of the state.

¹¹ *Papers New Haven Colony Hist. Soc.*, III, 405-22.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 418-19.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 424-25.

But while to constitute a Christian College it is necessary that it be controlled by Christian men, it is not necessary that they be also Christian ministers. In 1792, the eleven ministers then constituting the corporation introduced eight new Fellows into their number, who were to be annually selected by the accidents of politics and official seniority. The possibility that they might, some day, be deists or "Indifferentists", as President Stiles' diary shows us, was fully considered, in admitting them. If, at any meeting, all of these State Fellows had been present, and a less number of the clerical corporators, the whole course of instruction and the whole faculty of instruction could have been revolutionized, had the politicians seen fit to use their majority, as politicians often do.

If the present ministerial Fellows should elect a layman of suitable qualifications as one of their associates, or a clergyman of another denomination, or another State, they would deviate far less from ancient precedent than did their predecessors in 1792, when they opened their doors to the representatives of the State government.¹⁴

Almost at once Baldwin began to receive congratulatory letters from alumni who wanted to see Yale more completely in secular hands. The managing editor of the New York *Evening Post*, for example, wrote asking that Baldwin summarize his address in an article to be published in that paper.¹⁵ Baldwin agreed to do so, and the article appeared on May 7, 1881.¹⁶

Another letter on the subject came from Richard D. Hubbard, Yale 1839, former governor of Connecticut.

I was right glad to see your paper in print. I thank you for having broken ground in that direction. The commons of the University are with you. The House of Lords has to give way to the Commons in the long run. I think 'twill be so in the matter of this old prescription. Hurrah for the Commons!¹⁷

Baldwin's brother, George W. Baldwin, Yale 1853, wanted to know if it was a desire for truth or a fondness for amusement that led him to cast a stone into the tranquil waters of Yale College corporate law.¹⁸

In a more serious vein James Hammond Trumbull, librarian of the Watkinson Library of Reference in Hartford and authority on Connecticut history, wrote that he had no doubt of the soundness of the ground Baldwin had taken regarding the constitution of Yale. He had become convinced twenty years before that the Fellows were free as far as the charter was concerned to name laymen to fill vacancies on their board and to elect a layman president of the college. The restriction imposed by the founding fathers was removed, Trumbull believed, with the tacit assent of the president and Fellows by the enlarged charter of 1745.¹⁹

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

¹⁵ Watson R. Sperry to Simeon E. Baldwin, Apr. 28, 1881.

¹⁶ New York *Evening Post*, May 7, 1881, p. 5.

¹⁷ Richard D. Hubbard to Simeon E. Baldwin, May 11, 1881.

¹⁸ George W. Baldwin to his brother, Simeon E. Baldwin, May 15, 1881.

¹⁹ James Hammond Trumbull to Simeon E. Baldwin, July 9, 1881.

Besides congratulatory letters Baldwin received several containing explicit plans for further liberalization of the Yale Corporation's membership. One of these, from Henry Robinson, Yale 1853, a prominent Hartford lawyer, suggested that a vacancy be filled by the appointment of an out-of-state minister, preferably one of another denomination than Congregational.²⁰ Robinson and Baldwin worked together in the 1880's to try to draw new and forward-looking blood into the Corporation of Yale and to this end corresponded with several clerical Fellows, including Rev. Joseph Anderson, Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, and Rev. Joseph W. Backus.²¹ Rev. Anderson replied that he had no objection to appointing non-Connecticut men to the Corporation and had not known it was possible to do so until he had read Baldwin's article. He observed, however, that if President Porter were averse to such a change the Fellows would probably oppose it also.²² Two other clerical Fellows exhibited interest by requesting copies of Baldwin's article.²³

It is beyond question that Baldwin's paper created quite a stir both in alumni and Corporation circles at Yale. But, in spite of these and other efforts, the several vacancies among the clerical Fellows during the 1880's continued to be filled by Congregational ministers resident in Connecticut.

In the fall of 1885 it was announced that President Noah Porter would resign the following June. Once more the contest between the old guard and the moderns for the control of Yale was joined with renewed vigor. An editorial in the *Nation* in November, 1885, aptly summed up the two opposing bodies of ideas regarding the nature and purpose of Yale which were contending for mastery in the choice of the new president. The first of these stemmed from Yale's origin as a training school for ministers. The curriculum was designed to train clergymen, and the college was primarily a theological seminary.

The modern theory, on the other hand, held that a college should ground young men in the elements of an education which would prepare them for any pursuit. Harvard with its elective system represented the new; Yale with its fairly rigid curriculum leaned toward the old. In the *Nation's* words:

Yale College has greatly modified its course, and has given considerable scope to the elective principle; but it has clung pretty stoutly to the original theory of its establishment. It is still an institution practically governed by a few clergymen of a single denomination in a single State. It is still insisted by the believers in

²⁰ Undated letter from Henry Robinson to Simeon E. Baldwin, *ca.* July 16, 1885.

²¹ Henry Robinson to Simeon E. Baldwin, July 20, 1885.

²² Rev. Joseph Anderson to Simeon E. Baldwin, Aug. 31, 1885.

²³ Rev. Joseph H. Twichell to Simeon E. Baldwin, July 27, 1885, and Rev. Nathaniel J. Burton to Simeon E. Baldwin, July 21, 1885.

the old theory that the first requisite for a President is that he shall be a clergyman of the "orthodox" church. The conservative party may carry their point in the election of a new President, but they will only postpone the inevitable. A great modern college cannot be permanently conducted upon the same lines as a colonial divinity school.²⁴

The author of this editorial proved correct in his surmise that the conservatives would win the contest for the presidency in 1886. Timothy Dwight succeeded Noah Porter, and the unbroken line of Congregational minister-presidents continued until the turn of the century. Dwight, however, proved to be the last of the clerical heads of Yale.²⁵ Commenting on the Corporation's decision in 1886, Morris Hadley, son of the next president and the first layman to head Yale, said:

It was once again not a case of the Corporation choosing an inferior candidate as against a better one, for the new president was an outstanding man of great ability. It was a case of a choice between two different futures for Yale. The new president was Timothy Dwight, Yale 1849, grandson of the Timothy Dwight who had built so wisely in 1795. Nearly sixty when elected, he had been professor of New Testament criticism and interpretation. Like his grandfather, he was a Congregational minister. He worthily carried on the traditions established by that grandfather, but the direction which Yale took was once more determined by the wisdom of the past rather than by the possibilities of the future.²⁶

The pressure of the proponents of change continued and grew stronger as the passing years diminished the number and the strength of the aging conservatives. The occurrence of a vacancy among the clerical Fellows in 1889 provided the occasion for a resurgence of alumni effort to fill it with someone other than a Connecticut Congregational minister. Buchanan Winthrop, Yale 1862, a New York attorney who served from 1891 until his death in 1900 as an alumni Fellow,²⁷ wanted to make a test case at once regarding the legality of having a layman sit upon the Yale Corporation in place of a clerical Fellow. His plan was to persuade the Corporation to appoint a layman, have the latter's right to his seat challenged, and then carry the question up through the courts until a definitive answer was obtained. Winthrop suggested that Baldwin was the man most suitable to be the challenged layman.²⁸ Baldwin, however, rejected this plan and proposed a more moderate one. First, the Corporation should be persuaded to elect a Congregational minister from outside Connecticut. Even this

²⁴ *Nation*, no. 1064, Nov. 19, 1885, p. 419.

²⁵ *Historical Register of Yale University, 1701-1937* (New Haven, 1939), p. 33.

²⁶ Hadley, p. 104.

²⁷ *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University Deceased during the Academical Year ending in June, 1901*, pp. 62-63.

²⁸ Buchanan Winthrop to Simeon E. Baldwin, Apr. [8, 1889].

could not be done, Baldwin believed, unless President Dwight were convinced that the material interests of the university demanded it. If he led the way, the rest of the Corporation would follow.²⁹

Criticism of the university's conservatism and proposals for change reached the editorial pages of two important metropolitan dailies at this time. The *New York Times* printed on April 14, 1889, and the *Boston Herald* on April 20, editorials very similar in tone and content. Both were written by Julius H. Ward, Yale 1860, an editorial writer for the *Boston Herald*,³⁰ and were suggested by an article in a Hartford paper³¹ which represented Baldwin as the head and front of the movement to reform the Yale Corporation.³²

Pointing to the substitution of the alumni Fellows for the senators as a step in the right direction, the *Herald* lamented that this was not sufficient:

The hitch is in the corporation, whose ten self-appointed ministers have a controlling vote and are able to keep the alumni from ever having a representative majority in the board. Yale has always been loaded down with its conservatism, and this is the source from which it comes. Its trustees should be fairly representative of the position of the institution in the educational direction of the country.³³

That the editorials were written to arouse support among the Yale alumni of Boston and New York for Corporation reform was made clear by the recommendation in both that the next vacancy among the ministerial Fellows be filled by a layman or an out-of-state minister. Following such action a friendly suit should be brought to determine whether the Corporation had exceeded its powers. The situation would thus be clarified and possibly a more representative board be secured.³⁴

The time had not come in 1889, however, for the conservative forces to yield. President Dwight was apparently unconvinced that the material welfare of the university was suffering under the present dispensation, and not until after his retirement in 1899 did changes come.

As late as 1898 a prominent Yale alumnus, Daniel H. Chamberlain, one-time governor of South Carolina, wrote to Simeon E. Baldwin, "I suppose Yale is following the even tenor of her way, undisturbed and unaffected by anybody's criticisms, strong in her self-complacency, and firm in her rejection of all *outside* advice and suggestion [*sic*]"³⁵

²⁹ Draft of a letter from Simeon E. Baldwin to Buchanan Winthrop, Apr. 9, 1889.

³⁰ *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University Deceased during the Academical Year ending in June, 1891*, pp. 466-67.

³¹ A search has not yet revealed this source.

³² Julius H. Ward to Simeon E. Baldwin, Apr. 20, 1889.

³³ *Boston Herald*, Apr. 20, 1889.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Apr. 20, 1889; *New York Times*, Apr. 14, 1889.

³⁵ Daniel H. Chamberlain to Simeon E. Baldwin, Oct. 30, 1898.

That fall the announcement was made that President Dwight would retire the following June. Baldwin's nephew, Roger Foster, a New York attorney, thereupon wrote his uncle that Judge Henry E. Howland, an elected Fellow of Yale from 1892 to 1910, had told him that no clergyman would be chosen to replace Dwight.³⁶ This proved to be a correct prediction, for Dwight's successor was Arthur T. Hadley, a professor of political economy at Yale and a layman. Even then, as Hadley's son has pointed out, . . . it was not easy for the Yale Corporation to bring itself to entrust a forty-three-year-old professor of political economy with the charge of a college that had been governed by venerable clergymen . . . and it was not offered to him until the Corporation had considered several ministers, none of whom was willing to stand.³⁷

Summing up the action of the Corporation the *Yale Alumni Weekly* said after the choice had been made:

The attitude of Yale men toward his [Hadley's] candidacy was one of the controlling features in the final crystallization of opinion in his favor in the Corporation. The interviews and letters by which the *Weekly* sought to gauge Yale sentiment in this matter showed, according to a careful estimate in this office, that it would be safe to say that three-fourths of the Yale men in the country who had seriously considered the problem were more in favor of Professor Hadley as the best possible choice than of any other man. Besides all this, a representation was made to one or more individual members of the Corporation by no less than fifty full professors in Yale, giving it as their opinion that Professor Hadley had eminent qualities for this high office. This combination of graduate and Faculty sentiment, together with the strikingly unanimous feeling of undergraduate Yale, was perhaps the final force which removed all doubt as to his choice.³⁸

Yale College, the undergraduate liberal arts school, dominated the other branches of the university at this time. The college in turn was controlled by its faculty, which had considerable influence with the Corporation. In view of its power and ability to control the destiny of Yale under the administration of a clerical president, it was an event worthy of note when so many of the faculty³⁹ supported such an apparently radical innovation as the election of a layman. Actually the transition from the regime of Dwight to that of Hadley did not bring very drastic changes. Hadley's childhood in a Yale faculty family, his education at that institution, and his many years as a professor there imbued him sufficiently with Yale traditions that

³⁶ Roger Foster to Simeon E. Baldwin, Nov. 21, 1898.

³⁷ Hadley, p. 105.

³⁸ *Yale Alumni Weekly*, June 7, 1899, as quoted in Hadley, p. 229.

³⁹ The fifty professors seem to have included members of the Law, Divinity, and Scientific School faculties as well as that of the College.

he made changes gradually. He was a layman, nevertheless, and this fact had important consequences for the long-range future of Yale.

Control of Yale's governing body continued in clerical hands a few years longer. Following Hadley's election, however, the Corporation took deliberate steps toward liberalizing its composition. When the next vacancy among the permanent Fellows occurred in 1902, it was filled with Charles Edward Jefferson, a Congregational minister, but one from outside of Connecticut. A bolder step was taken in 1905 when another ministerial Fellow resigned. He was replaced by Payson Merrill, a layman. In the following year still another precedent was established with the election of a Presbyterian clergyman, William Rogers Richards, of New York. Finally, in 1910 the next two vacancies were filled with laymen, and the clergymen lost their majority.⁴⁰ There were then ten laymen to seven clergymen on the Corporation (not counting the governor and lieutenant governor, who were prohibited from voting for successors to the clerical Fellows). Commenting on this change Morris Hadley paid tribute to the attitude of the clergymen:

It was thought that the provision made in 1872 for six representatives of the graduate body would give sufficient opportunity for outside viewpoints to be presented. But the growth of new problems, educational, financial, and administrative, made the continuance of a large clerical majority an anomaly; . . . To the credit of the ministers be it said that they recognized this fact and abandoned the old usage, not as a reluctant concession to public opinion, but as a result of their own personal judgment as to what was right.⁴¹

With these appointments the revolution which had begun in 1872 with the replacing of the six state senators by elected graduates was complete. Yale had now joined the lengthening list of institutions which had made or were making similar changes during the past several decades. Every president since Hadley has been a layman, and the number of clerical Fellows has continued to decline until in 1952 there are only three.

University of Illinois

⁴⁰ *Hist. Reg. of Yale University, 1701-1937*, p. 37.

⁴¹ Hadley, p. 229.

American Urban History Today

BLAKE MCKELVEY

IT is less than two decades since Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, in *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (New York, 1933)¹ first revealed the dominant role played by urban developments in late nineteenth-century America. Few historians had previously included the words "urban" or "city" in their indexes, and even Charles A. Beard, who had himself written a book on municipal government, devoted but three paragraphs in his *Rise of American Civilization* to the influence or existence of urban life. Only Edward Channing gave as much as a chapter to this subject, and a remarkably good chapter for its date.² More surprising than the wide neglect of America's urban growth by the general historian was the dearth of specialized studies. To quote the first sentence of Professor Schlesinger's bibliographical note on urbanism, "The American city has not yet been studied generically, nor do there exist any adequate social histories of particular cities."

The awakening of scholarly interest which soon occurred in this field is evidenced by the publication since 1930 of forty volumes of what might be called urban biography—all works of a creditable scholarly character dealing with specific cities—plus another dozen good books of urban history on a broader scope. Able articles on cities have appeared in several historical journals, and Professor Bayrd Still, who is preparing a comprehensive bibliography on the subject, has listed twenty-five titles of Ph.D. theses on urban topics now in preparation or recently completed in various graduate schools throughout the country.

It must be admitted that many of these books have been indicted, in more than a few reviews, both for too much and too little generalization, too many and too few facts and personalities, too little wit and too much local pride. This is a healthy situation—the active criticism, that is, not the defects whatever they may be—and urban historians are fortunate in having attracted the skeptical interest of other historical specialists, surprised perhaps at the rich vein of history here uncovered, and of the sociologists who began to work the contemporary outcropping of urban society several decades before the historians.

Critical standards are needed, for urban historians, particularly those

¹ See pp. 448-50 for a helpful guide to urban sources in this period.

² *A History of American Life* (6 vols., New York, 1905-25), V, chap. III.

who deal with specific cities, face new problems as well as new opportunities. Vast stores of daily records³ must be sifted and the significant separated from the purely antiquarian details without sacrificing the human quality which a community's story reveals more often than others. A few students have tried to simplify the procedure by following the historical novelist and some sociologists into fictional abstraction, though the result is not history.⁴ That method is of interest, however, as George A. Dunlap reveals in *The City in the American Novel, 1789-1900* (Philadelphia, 1934), which traces urban influences through a surprisingly large number of novels. Another approach which appeals to the reader is that of the journalists, who in increasing numbers are exploiting the colorful lore of many cities. Some of them have produced recognizable likenesses, or suggestive interpretations of the community's character, and their popular success proves the existence of a public eager to read a human account of its past, eager to feel more at home in its setting. This is a worthy market and urban historians need have no qualms about writing local history, provided they can really put it together and put it across.

At this point the sociologist is likely to ask: What are you trying to put across? What in other words do you mean by urban history? Students of contemporary urban society have in fact spent much time in an effort to define what they mean by the city, and historians can profit by their analysis, as summed up by Louis Wirth a dozen years ago in his article "Urbanism as a Way of Life."⁵ But the historian is more concerned to trace the forces and directions of human social movement through time and place than to define inflexible patterns.

The task of urban historians is to chart the interrelated streams of life active in a specific community at a given period, or to weigh the cumulative effect in time of the problems and achievements of many cities within a given society, and in both cases to measure the extent to which the ideals and aspirations of that society found expression, growth, or rebirth in urban centers.

Indeed an understanding of America's urban history would be inconceivable without a time scale. Thus Professor Schlesinger in his seminal essay "The City in American Civilization,"⁶ which admirably performs the

³ Fortunately indexes to newspapers are increasing in number. See Herbert D. Brayer's incomplete "Preliminary Guide to Indexed Newspapers in the United States, 1850-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXIII (September, 1946), 237-58.

⁴ Angie Debo, *Prairie City* (New York, 1944); William Lloyd Warner, *Democracy in Jonesville* (New York, 1949).

⁵ *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938), 1-24.

⁶ Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Paths to the Present* (New York, 1949), pp. 210-33. This essay

second task listed above, discusses urban influences and contributions in America during each of four historic periods. And two years ago, in another approach to this problem, Miss Bessie L. Pierce, Frederick D. Kershner, and Joe L. Norris read papers before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in which they traced the development of midwestern cities through successive stages.⁷

It may be appropriate, in this survey of urban historical writings since 1930, to explore the possibility of correlating these periods and stages of urban growth, to note some of the respects in which cities have reflected or given creative expression to the important national trends of each successive period, and finally to suggest where advances can still be made in the study and interpretation of urban history.

Thanks to several able books by Carl Bridenbaugh,⁸ the urban developments of the colonial period fall more clearly into focus than do those of any other era. The first two books of James D. Phillips on Salem in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,⁹ although prize examples of meticulous detail, help to fill in the picture on one of the ports Bridenbaugh omits. The study of colonial Williamsburg is going forward, now under the direction of Lyman H. Butterfield. Dr. Bridenbaugh, who has transferred from Williamsburg to the University of California, is writing another volume that will pick up the threads traced in *Cities in the Wilderness* and carry them along to 1776. Already that first book and his report of Philadelphia's "rebels and gentlemen" suggest a fundamental antithesis of the period, as the colonial ports were torn between their dependence on and respect for the mother country and a new feeling of independence and self-reliance, and self-expression too, especially in the work-a-day crafts, as Bridenbaugh's most recent and fascinating study, *The Colonial Craftsman*, reveals. Special studies, for example Frederick P. Bowes's *The Culture of Early Charleston* (Chapel Hill, 1942), Thomas J. Wertenbaker's *The Golden Age of Colonial Culture* (New York, 1949),¹⁰ and several other books¹¹ further illuminate the period.

amplifies an earlier article, "The City in American History," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (June, 1940), 43-66.

⁷ Bessie L. Pierce, "The Changing Urban Pattern in the Mississippi Valley," *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*, Spring, 1950; F. D. Kershner, "From County Town to Industrial City: The Urban Pattern of Indianapolis," *Indiana Magazine of History*, December, 1949; Joe L. Norris, "The Country Merchant and the Industrial Magnate," a paper on Detroit, not yet published.

⁸ *Cities in the Wilderness* (New York, 1938); *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York, 1942). See also his *Peter Harrison: First American Architect* (Chapel Hill, 1949) and *The Colonial Craftsman* (New York, 1950).

⁹ *Salem in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston, 1933) and *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 1937).

¹⁰ See also Michael Kraus, *Intercolonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the Revo-*

Although many historians have written of urban developments during the early national period, its limits and character have not been clearly defined. Charles M. Gates, in his recent paper on "The Role of Cities in the Westward Movement,"¹² stressed the vital relationship between urban growth and agricultural expansion and suggested the need for a more intensive study of the shifting urban-rural balance at successive stages in the westward movement. Yet a geographic approach is not of itself sufficient, for the cities—large and small, young and old, of any period or region—were but parts of the nation as a whole, influencing and reflecting in varied ways the broader national trends. Thus in the early national period, when the westward movement was breaking through the Appalachian passes and spreading out over the first great West, boom towns located at strategic migration points set a dominant urban pattern.

Some of the details of this development may be found in Leland D. Baldwin's *Pittsburgh: The Story of a City* (Pittsburgh, 1938), Robert W. Bingham's *Cradle of the Queen City* (Buffalo),¹³ Frederick Clever Bald's *Detroit's First American Decade, 1796-1805* (Ann Arbor, 1948), and in an able article by F. P. Weisenburger, "Urbanism in the Middle West: Town and Village in the Pioneer Period,"¹⁴ not forgetting the early chapters of Bessie L. Pierce's *Chicago*,¹⁵ and Blake McKelvey's *Rochester*.¹⁶ Moreover a glance at the histories of the older port cities will reveal that they likewise (some of them at least) were in the throes of booming developments, often of a crude and reckless character not unlike those in frontier towns. Sidney I. Pomerantz, in his study *New York: An American City, 1783-1803* (New York, 1938) finds, for example, that the most important center of social life in that old but rapidly growing city was the tavern, as it certainly was in all boom towns. Ralph Weld's *Brooklyn Village, 1816-1834* (New York, 1938) describes an eastern example of the new boom town, with some suburban variants of course, but all towns had their variants. Energetic community efforts to open new turnpike and canal routes into the West, and bold specula-

tion, with Special Reference to the Northern Towns (New York, 1928), a pioneer study of urban manifestations.

¹² Oscar T. Barck, *New York City during the War for Independence* (New York, 1931); Robert A. East, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* (New York, 1938); Ernest S. Griffith, *History of American City Government: The Colonial Period* (New York, 1938); Virginia D. Harrington, *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1935); Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels* (New York, 1948).

¹³ Read at the 1950 meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and summarized in the *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII (September, 1950).

¹⁴ Buffalo Historical Society Publications, XXXI (1931).

¹⁵ *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, XXII (March, 1945), 19-29.

¹⁶ *A History of Chicago*, I (Chicago, 1937), II (New York, 1940).

¹⁷ *Rochester, the Water-Power City, 1812-1854* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).

tive enterprise that sent clipper ships to India and China, as well as barges and steamboats up coastal and interior rivers, fill many pages of Robert G. Albion's volume *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860* (New York, 1939), James W. Livingood's more limited study *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry, 1780-1860* (Harrisburg, 1947),¹⁷ and the latest book by James D. Phillips, *Salem and the Indies* (Boston, 1947) where the drama does sustain the detail. Instances of inadequate enterprise or unfavorable circumstances are treated in T. J. Wertenbaker's *Norfolk*¹⁸ and in an excellent article by Bernard Mayo, "Lexington: Frontier Metropolis."¹⁹

Although boom towns continued to spring into existence as population and trade moved across the continent, the urban era they dominated came to an end about 1835. The depression that followed sobered most of the older cities and stimulated the development of a more stable urban pattern. The urban period from 1835 to 1870 might be characterized as one of Yankee cities—if that adjective may be used in its broadest sense. The enterprise and ingenuity and capital of old Americans developed more efficient trade facilities, transformed earlier handicrafts into factory industries and exploited the labor of hundreds of thousands of newcomers from across the Atlantic. Yet this Yankee materialism, if not yet leavened by the spirit of charity, cherished a cultural mission, and it was in the cities, large and small, that the richest flowering of the religious, educational, and artistic life of the period found expression.

Numerous recent volumes support this analysis. Ralph Weld's suggestive *Brooklyn Is America* (New York, 1950), which surveys the growth there of many ethnic groups, declares that leadership at this time came from New England Yankees and other older Americans. Oscar Handlin's scholarly study, *Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1865* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941) devotes major attention to the Irish, who, arriving by the ten thousands, were still content with modest tasks. Robert Ernst's *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (New York, 1949) and scattered articles and chapters add additional evidence of the immigrants' subordinate role, though their initiative in labor unionism and in certain art fields was already significant.

That Yankee leadership was likewise triumphing over the crudities of frontier towns is evident in F. Garvin Davenport's *Cultural Life in Nashville, 1825-1860* (Chapel Hill, 1941), in Randolph C. Downes's, *Lake Port* (Toledo),²⁰ and less clearly in Paul M. Angle's *Here I Have Lived: A History*

¹⁷ See also Catherine E. Reiser, *Pittsburgh's Commercial Development, 1800-1850* (Harrisburg, 1951).

¹⁸ *Norfolk, Historic Southern Port* (Durham, 1931).

¹⁹ *Historiography and Urbanization*, ed. Eric F. Goldman (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 21-42.

²⁰ Lucas County Historical Series, III (Toledo, 1951).

of *Lincoln's Springfield* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1935). Yankee-like enterprise marked the growth of Memphis in the decade before the Civil War, as appears in an able volume by Gerald M. Capers,²¹ and may even have penetrated to New Orleans,²² though more studies of southern cities are needed to clarify developments there. Several new New England towns, where absentee Yankee capital promoted sudden industrial growth, present an interesting situation, but here also, as Mrs. Constance M. Green's *Holyoke* and her more recent *Naugatuck*,²³ and Vera Shlakman's *Economic History of a Factory Town*²⁴ show, Yankee ideals were maintained. A more indigenous flowering of Yankee culture can be seen in McKelvey's two volumes on Rochester,²⁵ in three booklets by Elbert J. Benton on Cleveland,²⁶ in Miss Pierce's thorough analysis of Chicago,²⁷ and in the first chapters of Bayrd Still's full-length biography of Milwaukee.²⁸ Even across the border in Toronto, Donald C. Masters finds the influence of old American Tories dominant at this time.²⁹ Further evidence may be found in able articles, such as Charles R. Wilson's "Cincinnati, a Southern Outpost in 1860-61?" answered in the negative,³⁰ Ollinger Crenshaw's "Urban and Rural Voting in the Election of 1860,"³¹ and Frank L. Mott's "Facetious News Writing, 1833-1883"³² in which he discovers the roots of Yankee humor in the "local" editors of urban journals of this period.

The host of new boom towns that sprang up further west during these decades has yet to receive intensive study. While their history as cities belongs chiefly to the next urban era, it is interesting to note here a scholarly article by Lynn I. Perrigo, "Law and Order in Early Colorado Mining Camps,"³³ in which the long-prevalent belief that reckless elements dominated these communities is challenged. More facts are needed over a wider area, but here at least is evidence of the sturdy determination of church folk and other

²¹ *The Biography of a River Town: Memphis, Its Heroic Age* (Chapel Hill, 1939).

²² Harold Sinclair, *Port of New Orleans* (New York, 1942), is one of the best of the popular "Historic Port Series"; see also the more scholarly but more restricted study by Howard P. Johnson, "New Orleans under General Butler," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (April, 1941).

²³ *Holyoke, Massachusetts* (New Haven, 1929); *History of Naugatuck, Connecticut* (New Haven, 1948).

²⁴ *Smith College Studies*, XX (Northampton, 1935).

²⁵ Note 16 above, and *Rochester, the Flower City, 1855-1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949).

²⁶ *Culture Story of an American City, Cleveland*, Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland, 1943, 1944, 1946).

²⁷ See note 15 above.

²⁸ *Milwaukee: The History of a City* (Madison, 1948).

²⁹ *The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890* (Toronto, 1947).

³⁰ *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXIV (March, 1938), 473-82.

³¹ *Historiography and Urbanization*, pp. 43-66.

³² *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXIX (June, 1942), 35-54.

³³ *Ibid.*, XXVIII (June, 1941), 41-62.

conscientious representatives of eastern and Yankee culture to dominate the new towns. Somewhat the same rapid transformation occurred on the west coast, as Remi A. Nadeau's stirring but well-grounded account of the pioneer "City Makers" of Los Angeles reveals.³⁴ One expression of what might be described as Yankee enterprise appears in most of the new towns as in many of the rising cities—a vigorous co-operative effort within each town to out-distance its special rivals, witness Wyatt Winton Belcher's study of the St. Louis–Chicago trade rivalries.³⁵

Another closely related aspect of the urban developments of the period is brought out in Bayrd Still's penetrating article "Patterns of Mid-Nineteenth Century Urbanization in the Middle West."³⁶ "With striking similarity," he declares, "they all limited themselves to those duties of the urban community which were common to eighteenth century cities." His study of the charters and municipal activities of western cities reveals a progressive adoption of established eastern urban practices. There was here, as there, a relaxation of eighteenth-century regulations over some trades, and a much more democratic electorate held sway.

That last point could be greatly expanded. All the literature supports the accepted view of the rise of the common man.³⁷ But it is worth noting that the chief cultural advance (ruling out for the moment some fundamental cultural changes) made over the cities of the late colonial period was this democratic diffusion of privileges and opportunities previously reserved to the few. And by no means the least of these was the opportunity now enjoyed by more city dwellers than ever before to own and occupy a separate family home. The tavern was no longer the center of social life, and, except in Boston, New York, and a few other large cities, the growth of large slum areas was still in the future. Some new cultural elements were of course developing, notably the singing societies and other contributions of the Germans; and Yankee culture had mellowed, or, as many of these books phrase it, matured; but with all its new urbanity it was still old-American in essence. Evidence of the "Emergence of Modern America" was appearing in the late sixties particularly in the largest cities, as Allan Nevins has shown in his excellent volume by that title,³⁸ but few suspected the urban rebirth destined to occur in the next period.

³⁴ *City Makers* (Garden City, N.Y., 1948). See also George D. Lyman, *The Saga of the Comstock Lode* (New York, 1934).

³⁵ *The Economic Rivalry between St. Louis and Chicago, 1850–1880* (New York, 1947). See also David M. Ellis, "Albany and Troy—Commercial Rivals," *New York History* (1943).

³⁶ *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII (September, 1941), 187–206.

³⁷ Carl R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830–1850* (New York, 1927).

³⁸ Vol. VIII of *History of American Life*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon R. Fox (New York, 1927).

The fourth major era in America's urban history, which might be termed that of cosmopolitan cities, or of corporate enterprise, stretches roughly from 1870 to 1915. Recent books and articles dealing with this period are not so numerous, but Professor Schlesinger's *Rise of the City* greatly illuminates the increasingly dominant urban role throughout this period. Yet not only was a new surge of urban growth redirecting the nation's history, it was at the same time transforming many old Yankee cities into budding metropolises and confronting them with a host of problems for which adequate solutions had still to be found. Moreover, the more recent immigrants and their children were now participating more widely and effectively in city affairs, displaying leadership in trade and industry as well as labor, and in politics too, enriching the social and cultural life of many cities. Weld's *Brooklyn Is America* is again of interest, also Still's *Milwaukee* and McKelvey's *Rochester* (II).

A few of the larger cities had encountered some of the new problems a decade or more before, as Harold C. Syrett's study of politics in his *City of Brooklyn, 1865-98* (New York, 1944) reveals, but it was not until the need for street improvements, water works, and sewers called insistently for huge outlays during the seventies, and the street car, telephone, gas, and electric utility corporations, with large favors to ask and to offer, reached monopoly proportions in the eighties and nineties, that the old Yankee pattern of municipal democracy suffered a breakdown in most large cities. Clifford W. Patton's study, *The Battle for Municipal Reform, 1875-1900* (Washington, D.C., 1940), ably describes this situation, which appears in part in Roy Ellis' *Civic History of Kansas City* (Kansas City, Mo., 1930),³⁹ William P. Lovett's *Detroit Rules Itself* (Boston, 1930), Harold Zink's *City Bosses in the United States* (New York, 1930), and in special chapters in some of the urban biographies, notably Still's *Milwaukee*, where the outstanding experiment in municipal socialism is described, and McKelvey's second volume on Rochester, which studies a more typical urban response.⁴⁰ Mrs. Green's *Holyoke* deals with these problems, too, and Edgar B. Wesley's able history of Owatonna, Minnesota, shows how even a small and young community had to face the new problems if it hoped to survive in this era.⁴¹

Other responses to urban problems characteristic of this period include the substitution of corporate enterprise for the older Yankee individualism about which little need be said here, and the less well known but widespread

³⁹ See also Henry C. Haskell, Jr., *City of the Future: The Story of Kansas City* (Kansas City, 1950).

⁴⁰ *Rochester, the Flower City*, pp. 257-83.

⁴¹ *Owatonna: The Social Development of a Minnesota Community* (Minneapolis, 1938).

growth of charity and welfare agencies. This has been treated in the biographies just mentioned and also with discernment in Charles Hirschfeld's *Baltimore, 1870-1900* (Baltimore, 1941). Additional case histories of urban social work are required for safe generalization, but fortunately it was at this point that a number of probing social surveys of a contemporary character began to appear.

While mounting problems characterized this urban era, they did not completely obscure the many new opportunities cities offered. The rise of sports, the provision of parks and playgrounds, the emergence of women, and the development of a wide variety of clubs and societies (taking the place of an earlier neighborliness) may be traced in a few books, and so also may the deepening of social and economic fissures.⁴² Each of these and several other developments merits the kind of analysis Aaron I. Abell has given to religion during this period in his study *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943). Some of the chapters in Harvey Wish's *Society and Thought in Modern America* (New York, 1952) are of interest here.

Historians have done little as yet with the last period of urban development, characterized by the emergence of metropolitan areas and core cities, from 1915 to the present. Only a few biographers have brought their subjects up to date, notably Still and Mrs. Green, while two co-operative volumes on New York deal with a unique city.⁴³ It is already clear that in this period also cities present antitheses as the opposing tendencies of the day find their most striking expressions in urban life: diffusion versus centralization, heterogeneity versus standardization, expressionism versus planning, to mention only a few. And now, more than ever before, uniquely urban problems, such as slum clearance, have become crucial national issues.

Fortunately students in other social sciences, notably sociology, anthropology, and government, have been working diligently on contemporary studies in this field throughout the last era. William Diamond's provocative essay "The Dangers of an Urban Interpretation of History"⁴⁴ not only warns of the limitations of an urban thesis but tells much as well about the sociological literature. Lewis Mumford's caustic and wide-ranging volume *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938) relates varied features of some American

⁴² George R. Leighton, *America's Growing Pains: The Romance, Comedy, and Tragedy of Five Great Cities* (New York, 1939); originally published under the title *Five Cities: The Story of Their Youth and Old Age*.

⁴³ Cleveland Rodgers and Rebecca B. Rankin, *New York: The World's Capital City* (New York, 1948); Allan Nevins, John A. Krout, and others, *The Greater City: New York, 1898-1948* (New York, 1948).

⁴⁴ *Historiography and Urbanization*, pp. 67-108.

cities to urban trends as he sees them in Europe. It is time that a skilled historian undertake the job of integrating these findings with facts from other sources so that the multiple urban developments of this period may be seen not simply as details of a pattern, or as signs of progress or decay, but as elements in a historical process which man's understanding may conceivably influence.

The literature on urban history includes many scholarly books and articles not mentioned in this brief survey, which of course does not attempt to cover all the contributions even these works have made. There are in addition many factual compilations of great use, such as the numerous city guides brought out by the W.P.A. writers' project⁴⁵ and a few extensive urban annals such as that published by William G. Rose of Cleveland.⁴⁶ At least a half-dozen city historical societies publish creditable volumes.⁴⁷ Histories of urban newspapers have appeared in great number.⁴⁸ Economic historians are writing good histories of specific industries.⁴⁹ Railroad historians have been reconstructing the trade setting so fundamental to urban developments of the last century, and a few have endeavored to tell the regional history of railroads and cities together.⁵⁰ The histories of unions in specific cities,⁵¹ of universities, libraries, galleries, churches, theaters, ball clubs, etc., are all beginning to appear, though few of them give much attention to the specific urban setting.

The task that remains is more than one of mechanical integration. As Ralph E. Turner suggested several years ago, in a stimulating paper read before the American Historical Association entitled "The Industrial City: Center of Cultural Change," the city is a pregnant cultural milieu.⁵² Fully to grasp its significance will require an equally creative scholarship. It is to this task that the seminars of Professors Schlesinger, Nevins, Holt, and Pierce, among

⁴⁵ See especially *Boston Looks Seaward: The Story of the Port, 1630-1940*, W.P.A. (Boston, 1941); *Catalogue: W.P.A. Writers' Program Publications* (September, 1941).

⁴⁶ *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, 1950).

⁴⁷ See especially the publications of the New York, Chicago, Rochester, Buffalo, and Atlanta historical societies. Many other large cities shelter state historical societies which do not, of course, give as much attention to city history. Note, however, the Northwestern Ohio Historical Society, which is recording the growth of Toledo's metropolitan area in its six-volume "Lucas County Historical Series" (Toledo, 1948—).

⁴⁸ J. Eugene Smith, *One Hundred Years of Hartford's Courant* (New Haven, 1949), is a recent example.

⁴⁹ Thomas C. Cochran, *Pabst Brewing Company: The History of an American Business* (New York, 1949), is noteworthy.

⁵⁰ Glenn C. Quiett, *They Built the West: An Epic of Rails and Cities* (New York, 1934); Edward C. Kirkland, *Men, Cities, and Transportation: A Study in New England History, 1820-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948).

⁵¹ Frederick L. Ryan, *Industrial Relations in the San Francisco Building Trades* (Norman, Okla., 1936); Charles R. Walker, *American City: A Rank-and-File History* (New York, 1937).

⁵² Published in *The Cultural Approach to History*, ed. Caroline F. Ware (New York, 1940), pp. 228-42.

others, have for many years been directing graduate students. More recently Professor Bayrd Still at New York University and perhaps a few others have scheduled lecture courses in urban history as well as seminars. And Mrs. Constance M. Green last year gave by invitation a series of lectures on American cities at the University College in London.

Thus the contours of this recently discovered historical valley begin to take form. But, as these pioneers know and as many reviewers have said, we need new efforts to see our subject whole and in successive periods of development; new efforts to relate the growth of urbanism to other phases of American history; new efforts to appraise the role of cities as crucibles of culture (to borrow a Wertenbaker phrase); new efforts to understand the vital relationship between man's independent, free-venturing spirit and the urban environmental setting.

Rochester, New York

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Ernst Cassirer*. Translated by *Fritz C. A. Koelln* and *James P. Pettegrove*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 366. \$6.00.)

At long last Cassirer's famous study of the Enlightenment comes to the English-reading public and in an excellent translation that calls for high praise. Here is a remarkable synthesis of the multiple and variant expressions of eighteenth-century thought; here is intellectual history at its most penetrating and profound. Certainly, the exposition makes demands on the reader's concentration, for the task of illuminating each facet of thought and at the same time correlating the particular with the basic unitary concepts presents fine problems. But clarity is never lacking, and the application required to follow the closely knit argument brings high rewards in understanding.

There is no doubt that the informed student could have or perhaps has already reached from monographic studies or from his own independent inquiries conclusions which in many instances parallel the revisionist judgments that Cassirer makes concerning specific aspects or particular spokesmen of the Enlightenment. Perhaps, too, he has unwittingly profited from the presentation of Cassirer's basic ideas in the writing of a first generation of the author's American admirers. In any case, while there is wide learning and deep understanding, there is still no absolute novelty in his chapters on such aspects or problems as the methodology of the Enlightenment or the place that the natural sciences held at the inner core of its thought. Nor does he break new ground with his convincing correction of the still widely held error that the Enlightenment lived uniquely and aridly by a philosophy of sensation; or even with his refutation of the venerable Romantic misconception that the Enlightenment was unhistorical-minded. Eloquent, too, is his affirmation that the Enlightenment had as its source and inspiration a positive religious mood, that not through disinfectants but by faith did the men of the Enlightenment strive to reform the world.

One should hasten to add two observations. First, whether novel or no, there is much for all readers to gain from the reading of his chapters, in particular from his magnificent appraisal of Diderot's towering stature and his elaboration of the significant contribution that Leibniz made to eighteenth-century thinking with the new, dynamic concept of substance. Second, there is both illumination and originality, and also poetic feeling and beauty, in his discussion of the century-long effort to correlate philosophy and aesthetic criticism. In that discussion Cassirer holds that a constantly evolving conception of interdependence and unity explored and fought over the definition of the relations between reason and imagination in the letters and the arts, between genius and the rules, and that this search and

inquiry eventuated in a new pattern of aesthetic philosophy and in a new form of artistic creation.

To discuss Cassirer's study in terms of the aspects of the Enlightenment, however, is to distort the intentions animating its writing, and even more to obscure the uniqueness of his contribution. His intention was to study the Enlightenment not in its breadth but in its characteristic depth, in the light of the unity of its conceptual origins and of its underlying principle. And the uniqueness of his contribution lies precisely in the accomplishment of his aim. One best gets the measure of his interpretation of the Enlightenment as a unified movement that marked a new departure in philosophical thought by comparing his study with other works that examine the period or some part of its expression: with Mornet's bookish volume on the intellectual antecedents of the French Revolution or with Lovejoy's magnificent but linear examination of the great chain of being; with the valuable but unco-ordinated volume by Preserved Smith or the learned, charmingly phrased, and niggardly hostile volumes of Paul Hazard. What emerges from this work is the author's fervid conviction that the Enlightenment was indeed what d'Alembert and Diderot wished it to be, no eclectic mixture of diverse and contradictory thought elements, but a unity dominated by a few fundamental ideas expressed with strict consistency and in exact arrangement. It was, he maintains, not only a culmination but a new form of intellectual activity in which philosophy, ending its long separation from science, history, jurisprudence, ethics, and politics, represented a totality of intellect in its investigation and inquiries, methods and processes. It was a great moment of intellectual self-confidence and self-consciousness, when to thought was attributed demiurgic power and to it assigned the task of shaping life itself.

Since it lay outside Cassirer's intention to fix the social setting of the Enlightenment or to examine the mediums by which its outlook and values were diffused, the reader will look in vain for discussion of these forces and instruments. It is regrettable nevertheless that the author does little more than intimate the intellectual and emotional dislocation that the Enlightenment wrought among the last generation of its devotees, especially in Germany. Regrettable too that in the main the searching treatments of the new concepts, such for example as he finds in Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois*, are not linked pragmatically with the actual historical moment of their appearance. This may be asking too much, but the regret lingers. This reservation apart, Cassirer has written by all odds the most masterly and the most significant account of the Enlightenment in any language. His pages glow, for the style is integral with his understanding and his humanity. Diderot, the nature-drunk, exuberant Diderot, would have hailed it rapturously and found in it much of the ardor, the affection, even the reverence that he saw in and gave to the emancipating movement. Happily, too, he would not have found any of his own turgid extravagance in Cassirer's wise and critical judgments of its greatness.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

A HISTORY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Two volumes. By *F. P. Walters*, formerly Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations; Honorary Fellow of University College, Oxford. [Published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 463; viii, 465-833. \$11.50.)

THIS book is definitive as an over-all narrative of the political accomplishments, frustrations, and failures of the League of Nations. No one is likely to improve its record of the interplay of the policy—or impolicy—of states acting as separate entities and of their action—or inaction—as members of the international organization under the steady impact of the Covenant. Its system of multilateral standards created a “gravitational force” which profoundly changed the conduct of international relations. For the most part the initiative rested with the great states, but the more numerous, largely inarticulate, small states were now provided with a forum whence their influence became a new element on the international scene. The story is illumined with a complete understanding of the League and a full comprehension of the national policies and desires.

In quite a real sense the book is the autobiography of the institution. During three years of work reviewing the 150,000 dossiers that constitute the League archives, Walters could also draw on the most intimate memories and experience. For he was Cecil’s assistant at the Paris Peace Conference when the Covenant was made; Sir Eric Drummond’s assistant during his thirteen years as secretary-general; and he was himself a deputy secretary-general in charge of political affairs thereafter.

The story is told in sixty-seven compressed but comprehensive chapters with the interpretive detail that only one who was a part of the undertaking could muster and master. The flow of the narrative deceives the reader as to the solidity of its historical accuracy. Chronology is generally followed, from the antecedents of the Covenant to the dissolution of the League which, phoenix-like, died in the holocaust of the Second World War only to be resurrected in the United Nations. The story falls into five stages. The making of the League was completed by January 10, 1920, when the Covenant entered into force. In the years of growth, till September, 1923, the structure and methods of the institution were established. Years of stability, till September, 1931, saw steady and successful functioning, execution of duties imposed by the Covenant and other treaties, the slow extension of authority over all the international aspects of human affairs. In the years of conflict, till July, 1936, Japan, Germany, and Italy exerted themselves to destroy the Covenant and dislocate the unity of peaceful purpose under it; how hard they had to work to defeat the League was a tribute to it, if not to its members. The period until the dissolution on April 18, 1946, Walters flatly calls years of defeat.

Much attention is paid to nonmembers—the Soviet Union which entered and was expelled; Germany (belatedly admitted), Italy and Japan, which withdrew

to gain freedom of action; and the consistently aloof United States, whose relations with the League were darkened "by a fog of doubt, hesitation, even mistrust." The United States participated in the communications conference of 1923, "the State Department having discovered for such cases a formula which made the best of both worlds. Her chief delegate was a diplomatist, authorized only to follow the discussions and keep his government informed; but he was accompanied by a group of experts who were able to influence events behind the scenes, if American interests were involved." By 1931 the United States was willing to "endeavor to reinforce what the League does," but there it halted.

The emphasis of the book is on the political developments, incidents, questions which occupied the Assembly and Council, recorded with the insight from the inside derived from a full knowledge of the structure and of why the spokesmen for member states did what they did. The economic, social, humanitarian undertakings of the League are not much more than accounted for, though their influence in the multilateral pattern of the League era and continuation as specialized agencies of the United Nations are made plain. Aside from a chapter reprinting and commenting on the "plain common-sense intention" of the Covenant, no document is reproduced. The political scientist will find little on structure of the League's machinery, except as procedural operations are a phase of a political problem.

A review cannot even list the matters dealt with in the League, but the reader can be assured that a balanced perspective marks their treatment. The sixty pages devoted to Italy's attack on Ethiopia and the resulting sanctions, for instance, is the best-rounded account extant. Perspicacity prevails throughout these pages. To quote a few such remarks: "Criticism of the victim was, in part, effective in justifying the illegal action of the aggressor." "Political prejudice proved, as usual, more powerful than social progress"—this of blocking the Health Organization by the United States. "It was characteristic of the League of Nations that it was never ready to confess to defeat in any important purpose. This characteristic was a joy to its critics, an embarrassment to its friends, a problem to its servants." The tendency "to adjourn debates and never close them was both inevitable and right."

"The League is dead, long live the United Nations," said Viscount Cecil in the last Assembly. Walters shares that view and hope, and in his book has demonstrated that the viability of the United Nations springs largely from League of Nations experience.

Washington, D.C.

DENYS P. MYERS

THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM. By *Hannah Arendt*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1951. Pp. xv, 477. \$6.75.)

HERE is an undertaking to disclose the "hidden mechanics" of moral anarchy in our time. Two thirds of this book is devoted to an analysis of the preconditions

of totalitarianism as seen in anti-Semitism and imperialism. The political framework is the decline of the nation-state during the past century, as a consequence of imperialist and Pan-nationalist pressures, and the emergence of a new tribalism of international character. The Jews, having already lost the protected status which eighteenth-century courts had commonly vouchsafed, were further to lose the benefits of emancipation, and in increasing numbers become stateless. Anti-Semitism became the "catalytic agent" in producing the Nazi movement, World War II, and the totalitarian world of the mid-twentieth century. Without distinguishing between liberal and integral forms of nationalism, the author insists that totalitarian movements are unnationalistic. Their aims are global, and require global organization, apart from utilitarian requirements of national interests. Anti-Semitism prepared the emotional climate wherein the "mob," the "masses," and the "élite" found opportunities to exploit the death-wish of a sickened society. The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* established in many minds an image of the supranational Jew, conspiring to master the world. Those who credited the pseudo-protocols could take their cue therefrom and, conceiving world mastery as an organizational possibility, hope to replace the Jew in his own game (pp. 349-50).

While the description of totalitarian forms contains little that will be unfamiliar to readers of the *Review*, the author's emphasis should be noted. Only Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia (where, it is stated, "governmental antisemitism" now prevails) are to be considered totalitarian regimes. Mussolini's Italy is spared this indictment (pp. 258, 277), and Japan of the "New Order in Asia" receives no attention.

With repeated didacticism the need is stressed to feel far more deeply than common sense is inclined the enormity of totalitarianism as radical evil, beyond comparison with any system of tyranny hitherto known. This radical evil has created an unprecedented crisis in the human condition. The author categorically declares that the "whole" of Western civilization has broken down. We can no longer fall back on tradition, and "though we are saturated with experience and more competent at interpreting it than any century before, we cannot use any of it" (p. 434). Rejection of history as a directive value for our time would appear to be final.

Disregard of the concept of historical continuity may well be accountable for a persistent tendency toward overstatement. Trained in philosophy and theology, the author is inclined to cast judgments in absolute and categorical forms. In part brilliant and suggestive, the work as a whole conveys an impression of miscarriage. A general neglect of economic forces gives imbalance and an air of unreality to discussion of modern developments. Imperialism is treated too often as "mere expansionism." The special and tragic career of Lawrence of Arabia is cited as an illustration that imperialism was a game played apart from self-interest and economic motives. Power is portrayed as "dematerialized mechanism." To totalitarian leaders, the reader is misinformed, "the power of material possessions [natural resources] is negligible and only stands in the way of the development

of organizational power" (p. 397). The analysis of Sovietism draws heavily from Kravchenko and Souvarine. Minor use is made of Deutscher, and the writings of E. H. Carr are unmentioned. Virtually no attention (save in respect to minority treaties) is accorded to diplomatic and strategic considerations in twentieth-century world politics—matters not unrelated to the background of totalitarianism.

Whatever value this study may possess for the historian is likely to lie in the author's profound sensitivity to imponderables in the totalitarian atmosphere and her penetration into the general mood which pervaded European society in a "time of troubles."

Queens College, New York

C. H. VAN DUZER

THE ANTARCTIC PROBLEM: AN HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL STUDY. By *E. W. Hunter Christie*. Foreword by Sir Reginald Leeper. (London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. 336. \$6.00.)

THIS book is concerned with the history of exploration and politics of that part of the Antarctic continent south of South America lying between the meridians of longitude 20° and 80°W. The most prominent feature of this segment of the mainland of Antarctica is the long peninsula of Palmer Land, as it is called here in the United States by our Geographic Board, and Graham Land, as it is designated by the British. The difference in nomenclature stems from a difference between British and American authorities as to who discovered the mainland of Antarctica. American investigators believe it was Palmer. This is, however, a minor point.

Mr. Christie has given a careful and exceptionally good account of the history of the exploration of this particular area of Antarctica, but the chief interest in his book derives from its consideration of the political claims by Great Britain, Argentina, and Chile. Mr. Christie gives various criteria for the establishment of political claims but points out that effective measures of administration or colonization after the making of a claim are surely the most legitimate from the standpoint of acknowledged practices of international law.

Although Mr. Christie has taken considerable pains to present fairly the supposed claims of Chile and Argentina, it seems to this reviewer that neither country has legitimate claims to any part of the mainland as compared with those long established by the British. To invoke the principle of contiguity for either Chile or Argentina is absurd. Both countries are separated from the nearest Antarctic lands by hundreds of miles of oceanic water. Furthermore, the official British attitude that it would willingly have the matter of conflicting claims weighed before the permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague is evidence of its sincerity. Neither Chile nor Argentina is willing to submit its claims to the court. The author himself points out with considerable wisdom that the maintenance of these claims by Chile and Argentina gives these countries the

opportunity to drum up a kind of nationalistic patriotic fervor and thus deflect attention from troublesome internal problems.

Our Department of State does not substantiate any of the claims made by various American explorers in Antarctica and does not recognize the claims of any other nation. In a paper "Strategy and Politics in the Polar Areas" published in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1948, I pointed out that from the American standpoint Antarctica is still *terra nullius* and that the best solution would be to place the entire Antarctic region under the administration of the United Nations in accordance with provisions of Articles 77 and 81 of the Charter. Mr. Christie recognizes the possibility of internationalization of Antarctica as one means of solving the knotty problem of claims in the area which he discusses. However, he believes that Russia's recalcitrant attitude in other areas of the world would make such an approach untenable. Perhaps he is right.

Whatever the outcome may be, every student of Antarctic history and politics should read this excellent book. It is the most thoroughgoing survey yet made both of the explorations and of the problems in Antarctica represented by conflicting claims of Argentina, Chile, and Great Britain.

Carleton College

LAURENCE M. GOULD

HISTORY OF SYRIA: INCLUDING LEBANON AND PALESTINE. By Philip K. Hitti, Professor of Semitic Literature on the William and Annie S. Paton Foundation, Princeton University. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. xxv, 749. \$10.00.)

WHEN I agreed to review Professor Hitti's book for the *American Historical Review* I made it clear that, not being trained in the art and science of writing history myself, I was not competent to review it as a historian. I would not know whether a certain date was accurate, whether the treatment of a certain period was adequate, or whether the sources used were primary or secondary, and in either case whether they were reliable at all. The standpoint of my appreciation is primarily philosophical. I happen also to be at present in the foreign service of one of the countries, Lebanon, covered by Professor Hitti's sweep. Since, however, the peoples and events studied in the present tome, besides belonging to the background from which I spring, raise the deepest issues, my interest in this matter cannot trail behind that of any technical historian.

The first sentence of the preface tells us that "Syria" is to be understood "in its geographic meaning." This meaning covers "the area between the Taurus and Sinai, the Mediterranean and the Iraq desert" (p. 58). The investigation then deals for the most part with the fortunes and vicissitudes of the peoples who, down the ages, lived within these delimited confines. The basic determination of the *History of Syria*, then, is not political, nor cultural, nor even ethnic: it is primarily geographical. This raises the tremendous problem of the meaning and unity of

history; but there is nothing about Syria that does not raise tremendous problems. The poignancy of this problem would have been largely (though not wholly) mitigated if the book were called "The History of the Peoples of Syria," a phrase actually used on page 57. It is clear that geography alone cannot determine history, the unity of history being always the unity of some human will. There is no work so far on the history of Syria in Professor Hitti's sense; but is it an accident that one of the "oldest histories" has waited until now to be written?

The work falls into five parts:

(1) The so-called "Pre-Literary Age"—treating such topics as stone and metal implements and other human relics, all dating to "pre-historic" times, the conjectured life of man then, and the fundamental physical, nonhuman conditions of the land. (It is clear that chapter I should be lifted out of this part altogether and made into an introduction to the whole volume, and chapters IV and V should be either fused or differently organized and entitled, since obviously what is examined under chapter IV belongs also to the "physical environment.")

(2) The ancient Semitic period, extending for about two millenniums, from 2500 B.C. to 500 B.C., and covering the histories of the Amorites, the Phoenicians, the Aramaeans, and the Hebrews, including the interactions of these peoples with the Egyptians, the Mesopotamians, the Hittites, and the Persians.

(3) The Graeco-Roman period, extending for about 1,000 years, and covering the great impulse of Alexander and his successors (the Seleucids), and the subsequent Roman and Byzantine eras.

(4) The Arab-Moslem period, lasting about 900 years, from about 635 A.D. to 1516, and including that great East-West drama: the crusades.

(5) The Ottoman period, lasting 400 years, until the end of the First World War.

An interesting task would be to work out Professor Hitti's fundamental suppositions. This would be a lengthy undertaking, but I shall here merely touch upon five points. There is first the basic scientific method of being as precise as your material allows you. This sends you as much as possible to original and primary sources and requires that you support every assertion with a footnote or a reference. Enormous questions of interpretation, of authenticity of sources, and of the nature of historical truth, here arise. (I am thinking in particular at this point of Nietzsche, Dilthey, and Croce.) Despite the fact that Professor Hitti, in his characteristic modesty, lays no claim to "originality" and "definiteness," and to having mastered all the necessary apparatus for his task (p. vii), yet, so far as a layman can judge, he is most conscientious and scientific in his method. It is true we are presented in many instances with conclusions without the process of intellectual wrestling, of reasoning and debating, which led up to them; but every scholar reaches a stage when he must take lots of things for granted, and allow himself the perfectly natural right of setting forth his ultimate conclusions, leaving it to other scholars to test or contend his point of view.

Secondly, a basic evolutionism is evident throughout, especially in Part I where

many significant discoveries are understood as having arisen merely by accident (see especially pp. 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23). This accidentalism raises the question of whether there is creation *ex nihilo*; viz., a new state of consciousness out of absolute darkness. (On the presupposition of progress, see especially pp. 3, 14, 17, 23, 103.)

Thirdly, there is the structure of interacting, influencing, borrowing, transmitting, causing: nature giving rise to man by evolution, Arabia overflowing periodically into Syria ("the surge and resurge of the desert"), the Phoenicians influencing the Greeks and transmitting the East to the West, Egypt and Syria mutually interacting, the Jews borrowing from the Aramaeans, the Syrians from the Romans, the Arabs from the Greeks, etc. This raises the question of the transmissive mode of being: that of the channel, the passageway, the vehicle, the merchant.

Fourthly, it is a recurring thesis with Professor Hitti that there has always been in Syria what might be called a basic Semitic constant (see especially pp. 59, 61, 62, 64, 115, 135, 137, 144, 256, 284, 285, 289, 417, 671) to which Hellenism, Romanism, the Turkish influence, and all other non-Semitic influences were always essentially alien; a constant which may be submerged for a while but which, whenever the opportunity presents itself, will rise to the surface of historical action. This raises profound issues as to the nature of truth, of the Semitic genius and of the relationship between East and West; and opens up the question of how it was precisely people like Paul, Chrysostom, Lucian, Porphyry, and Damascenus (and one might add Professor Hitti himself) whose great contributions were possible only because they did not stick to their basic Semitic constant. When the Semites are jolted out of their Semitism (e.g., the universalism of Christ), then they begin to "contribute."

Fifthly, there is the doctrine of contribution: what this or that man or people or culture or period contributed to "civilization." This obviously raises the question of what is civilization, which civilization is meant, and the criterion by which a contribution is measured. Professor Hitti, supported by Toynbee, refers specifically to three contributions which Syria made: the alphabet and the discovery of the Atlantic by the Phoenicians, and monotheism by the Jews (pp. 103, 109, 216, 330). If history must have some distinctive origination, and if these were the three contributions of Syria, then the history of Syria must have ended with the Phoenicians and the ancient Jews. The treatment of the religious contribution (chapters xv and xxv) suffers, in my opinion, from a fundamental ambiguity. The question is not just the unity of God (monotheism), but the nature of God and what He authentically declares Himself to be. As regards this latter point, it can be shown that He declares Himself to be quite different from many judgments in chapter xxv.

Professor Hitti has rendered a great service to the historian, the student, the general reader, and the native of Syria (in the geographical sense). There is now for the first time within the compass of one book a connected authoritative story

of five millenniums of events—and some of them, what events!—of one of the most important lands in the world, a land destined perhaps to assume increasing importance in the days to come. Every statesman dealing with the Near East must ponder deeply the contents of this book. The East-West relationship is once again entering a critical stage; there is no better guide to the understanding of the present crisis than the wonderful background afforded by this book: Phoenicians and Aramaeans mediating between East and West; Rome versus Carthage; Alexander and his successors Hellenizing the East; Roman legions in Syria; the Christian reaction; Syrian emperors and popes in Rome; the Moslem-Arab reaction against the West; the West's return in the crusades; Asia hailing once again through the Turks; modern westernization. Who can fail to draw from the profound meditation upon this rhythmic beat the surest guidance for the future?

For a forthcoming new edition one would venture to make the following suggestions:

(1) As one finishes reading each part, one distinctly craves for a general interpretative chapter, summing up on the profoundest plane possible the significance, meaning, achievement of that period. If such five chapters are written, then together with the present first chapter they may be printed apart, and in that case I would urge that their contents be memorized by every youth in geographic Syria.

(2) Surely the greatest achievement of St. John Chrysostom (p. 356), the Greek Orthodox liturgy, should be mentioned. Every Sunday for 1,500 years, the intercession of Chrysostom, "the author of this holy service" (and what a magnificent service it is), is sought in every Greek Orthodox church in the world.

(3) Pseudo-Dionysius who exerted a tremendous influence upon Christian theology and art, and upon German mysticism and idealism, should (though shrouded in mystery) also be mentioned.

(4) Owing to its very great importance in the history of thought and of the relations between East and West, stoicism (p. 258 f.) should be treated more fully.

(5) Nothing is more important for the understanding of Islam than an adequate account of the relations between heretical Syrian Christianity and Islam (p. 406). This link should be supplied.

(6) I think Carthage (p. 108) should be treated more fully.

(7) The following entirely minor matters may also be noted: the map on page 33 is not quite adequate to the text it is designed to illustrate; the explanatory material for the illustration on page 69 is the same as that for the colored plate facing it, and the last sentence does not apply; one cannot speak of the withdrawal (*jala'*) "of foreign troops, mainly French" as "expulsion" (p. 134, n. 2).

Professor Hitti's fascinating story—told so lucidly, so engagingly, so authoritatively, so comprehensively—touches upon the ultimate tragedies of human existence. Nothing is more painful, for instance, than what a Roman historian, speaking of Caracalla, called "the craftiness of Syria" (p. 342), a trait that repeatedly reveals itself in the conduct of the inhabitants of Syria throughout the ages (see especially pp. 71, 74, 132, 284, 301, 375, 389, 640, 665, 684, 686). This

is a terrible judgment. Another is the tragic discontinuity of the country, the absence of linkage and cohesion: historically (eras, periods, endless conquerors), socially (layers upon layers of peoples: pp. 26, 75, 146, 251, 268, etc.), geographically (never-ending struggle with the desert: pp. 42, 44, 61, 64, 377, 382, 396), culturally (never quite one homogeneous culture), linguistically (pp. 113, 257, 369), politically (see especially p. 57). A country so situated and so burdened cannot but have despaired of man and his possibilities. The last word about the history of Syria is not political, not cultural, not intellectual, but religious: a radical reaching-out beyond all life and all history. It was not an accident that God had to come there, and had to suffer. Nothing throws me back more surely and more trustfully upon Him who is alone the light and the hope of the world than the contemplation of the ultimate truth of the land and people to which I belong.

New York, N.Y.

CHARLES MALIK

[Dr. Malik is Minister of Lebanon to the United States and chairman of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations.—Ed.]

GREECE: AMERICAN DILEMMA AND OPPORTUNITY. By L. S. Stavrianos. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1952. Pp. ix, 246. \$3.25.)

Mr. Stavrianos here attempts the thankless task of deciphering the intricacies of the perennial Greek political imbroglio and makes a serious effort to provide an informative and scholarly survey of the pivotal points in the recent developments in Greece, developments which have brought forth new problems without solving the old ones. The book opens with a brief sketch of modern Greek history, with special reference to the period immediately preceding World War II. For the causes of the Civil War, the author says, one should look more to Athens than to Moscow. Much of the trouble is due to "a hundred and twenty-five years of wars and poverty, of misrule and misfortune." The governments of Greece, he says, have lacked energy, foresight, and a sense of social responsibility to adopt a program for national reconstruction.

Mr. Stavrianos compares the British policy in 1945 to our present-day policy in Greece. The British missed a chance and the author asks if the United States will also miss its opportunity in Greece. Despite the millions of dollars Britain and America poured into Greece, that country is still in economic straits; there is still poverty and large-scale unemployment. The administrative apparatus is loosely organized and overstaffed. In 1949 Louis C. Wyman, counsel to the Joint Congressional Committee on Foreign Economic Cooperation, characterized the Greek government as "incompetent, reactionary, and obstructive," and two years later (May 20, 1951) the right-wing newspaper *Kathimerini* (Daily) suggested that Greece was "a small-scale model of Chiang Kai-shek's China . . ." (pp. 4-5).

Although the Civil War is over and the Communist threat is checked, the Communists remain "a major force in Greek affairs" (p. 226). This is serious,

especially since the political situation remains unstable. The United States from time to time has pressed "half-heartedly" for reforms, but the situation in Greece today is no better than it was four years ago (p. 207). The United States has an opportunity to see that a popular government is set up in Greece. But can such a government be set up at present? The basic reforms of Greek society, the author recognizes, would produce a turmoil which at present would certainly not serve the purposes of the democratic world.

Mr. Stavrianos finds the United States facing a dilemma. Should we, he asks, concentrate on the immediate needs of the cold war strategy or on the long-range basic needs of Greek society? "We have made intermittent efforts to do the latter but we are now shifting to preparedness." Any other policy at present might not be sound. Since we are already involved in Greek affairs through the Truman Doctrine, the principal problem is to have a clear aim. In the war, should it become hot, we might find that "our ally is a Government rather than a people." Perhaps the Centrist element might form a reforming party, but the author argues that this group lacks a solid and organized mass basis and has little representation in the state apparatus. Since the weakness of the center is obvious, there is little else we can do but support the rightist regime. Yet it is very doubtful if the right could maintain itself in office for any length of time without establishing an authoritarian regime disguised as a "strong-man government to curb the Communists." Should we refuse to support such a government, it would be replaced by another authoritarian regime disguised as a "people's democracy" (p. 229). This indeed is a dilemma, and Mr. Stavrianos, an able diagnostician, fails to prescribe a cure. His book is an implicit appeal that in our shift toward the policy of preparedness and our support of the right we do not drop completely from sight the "long-range basic needs" of Greece. For, as he justly claims, only a democratic Greece can be a reliable ally.

Stanford University

WAYNE S. VUCINICH

Ancient and Medieval History

TROY: THE THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH SETTLEMENTS. Volume II, Part 1: Text; Part 2: Plates. By *Carl W. Blegen, John L. Caskey, and Marion Rawson*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for University of Cincinnati. 1951. Pp. xxii, 325; xxiii, 318 plates. \$36.00.)

THE casual (but not necessarily illiterate) visitor to the site of Troy beside the Dardanelles has in the past struggled with the famous Doerpfeldian plan of many colors and, having identified the easily recognizable Roman Troy IX and distinguished the spectacularly fortified Troy VI from the deeper lying Troy II, has usually had only indifferent success in sorting out the intervening "cities" in the mound. With what feelings of despair will he return to the site, having learned from this latest volume of the Cincinnati publication that the first five of Schlie-

mann's superimposed "cities" have now been subdivided into no less than thirty "phases," that although Rossetti sang truly, "O Troy's down, Tall Troy's on fire!" it was only Troy IIg which was burned in a great conflagration long, long before Achaean Agamemnon, and that Troy IV, the "wretched village" of Doerpfeldian tradition, actually spread over the entire mound, was defended by a circuit wall, and lived through five distinguishable (though perhaps not entirely distinct) "phases"! He will also learn with interest that although Troy III was a poor effort compared with proud Troy II, it distinguished itself by being the first settlement to build house-walls of solid stone instead of raising mud brick on a stone socle. (But probably it was the abundance of stone available from the burned second settlement which made this an easy luxury.) If the visitor is professionally read, he will recall that, as recently as 1948, Claude Schaeffer, the genial excavator of fabulous Ras Shamra on the Syrian coast, in his overwhelming survey of Anatolian and other Near Eastern excavations under the disingenuous title *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale*, sought to reverse Schliemann's vacillating decision about the famous treasure of Troy and reassign it to Troy III instead of the more obvious Troy II. The controversy is of considerable importance for Bronze Age chronology throughout western Asia, but it is too intricate for general discussion. The new publication here under review politely but firmly decides against Schaeffer; and the fact that only such meticulous digging and recording as that of the Cincinnati Expedition could ever have marshaled the evidence to make any categorical decision possible, goes far to justify the pitiless professionalism of this monumental report.

Nonetheless the professional student who consults this publication has a right to expect that the diggers, who alone know their way amid these complexities, should offer him more enlightenment about Troy, over and above the detailed catalogue of their stratified finds. M. Schaeffer is relegated to a footnote; yet the questions which he raises are of very great interest. Out of three hundred pages of text, less than thirty contain readable general discussion, while all the more significant observations could be condensed into a few paragraphs. By leaving to outsiders or posterity the evaluative rewriting of their magnificently precise campaigns, the compilers maintain their professional integrity and set themselves apart from controversy and provable error; but they decline the burden of making archaeology a humanistic pursuit.

Perhaps a mere reviewer should not complain, since this concentration on the material evidence and avoidance of extraneous speculations enables him to pass on to his readers the following *multum in parvo*:

By publishing all the finds from Troy III, IV, and V the present volume completes its survey of the Early Bronze Age remains of Hissarlik. In spite of the greatly increased disintegration into "phases," no important change of culture or population has been detected, and no striking catastrophes except the bad conflagration of IIg. Nor does the final settlement of this long period, Troy V, seem to have gone down in bloodshed betokening extraneous conquest or spoliation.

And yet Troy VI (with which the next volume of the series will deal) belongs to a different world. At Troy, as everywhere else in the ancient Near East, the distinction between Early and Middle Bronze Age does not reflect a merely modern convenience of nomenclature but betokens a great, though hitherto undefinable, change. On the other hand, the settlements of Troy III-V appear to assert a rather continuous decline from the high level of prosperity of Troy II (unless a slight improvement may be noted in Troy V as opposed to Troy IV); so that the final history of the Early Bronze period suggests the running-out of a cultural tide which had long been ebbing. The absolute chronology remains vague; but it is seemingly the final centuries of the third millennium before Christ to which Troy III, IV, and V must be attributed, making them contemporary with the decline and collapse of the Old Kingdom in Egypt. Direct cultural connections with Egypt do not exist; but Aegean and mainland Greek (Helladic) contacts are demonstrable. However, it would be incorrect to term Troy an outpost of Helladic culture at this time. Troy II-V are essentially Anatolian settlements, even though rather isolated by their peripheral geographic location.

The accompanying volume of 182 quarto pages of "plates" comprises several thousand separate illustrations well photographed or drawn, and cleanly printed. Particularly useful are the numerous diagrammatic plans and the clearly intelligible sections through the several scattered areas of digging which Schliemann had left undamaged. It would be difficult to imagine excavational material more fully and accurately recorded or more adequately presented. Yet for all its excellence, *Troy* is an inhuman book because it takes such pride in displaying excavation as a science instead of as a humanity and is guilty of making archaeological exploration unappealing for fear it should fail to maintain a rigorously scientific manner.

Bryn Mawr College

RHYS CARPENTER

STUDIES IN ROMAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY IN HONOR OF ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON. Edited by *P. R. Coleman-Norton*, with the Assistance of *F. C. Bourne* and *J. V. A. Fine*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 373. \$5.00.)

Long in preparation and long awaited, this book, produced with devotion and care by the editors with the co-operation of friends eager to pay tribute to Allan C. Johnson, is a dedicatory offering of twenty-three articles on subjects more or less related to the work in which Professor Johnson has been engaged—constitutional history, papyrology, economic and social studies. Professor Johnson, for thirty-seven years a beloved teacher and scholar at Princeton University, is still resident at Princeton. The anniversary year was 1949, which means that the articles in the book were in the mill about that time and that consequently they had perhaps best be read as though 1949 were the date of publication, although several articles refer to works which appeared in 1950.

The authors are drawn from several countries and represent many fields of classical antiquity: literature, religion (Greek, Roman, Christian, Egyptian), drama, art, Greek epigraphy, papyrology, demography, numismatics, constitutional history—all of these are comprehended under the general title of the book—and, for good measure, a paper on thirteenth-century Byzantium adds a field a little removed in time from classical antiquity. Four of the papers (chapters iv, viii, xiv, xx) are illustrated, but the plates, alas, are lumped together between pages 310 and 311.

Although every one of the contributions has something fresh and new for the student of antiquity, I may be pardoned if I make my point chiefly from the six numismatic papers. J. G. Milne and A. R. Bellinger draw on their long and rich experience with coins to give us much-needed general and comprehensive articles on particular areas of coinage. In the course of his article on Augustan coinage, M. Grant makes some pertinent suggestions and sounds warnings on the study of dies and mints. L. C. West and H. Mattingly continue, in different directions, to work toward the solution of the baffling monetary questions of the late third century A.D., and A. Alföldi, with his customary broad sweep and keen observation, discusses anew the early use of the Christian monogram on certain coins in a paper which is a study of mints, as well as of art, history, and religion. As examples of the fresh approach in the rest of the papers, J. Day, in a careful analysis of evidence for the economy of Euboea under the Roman Empire, debunks a previously accepted view of that subject resulting from the misuse of a literary passage. H. Youtie employs his papyrological acumen to make clearer a document providing "our first intimate contact [in papyri] with a boy's work and play and tribulations in the days of his apprenticeship." Likewise, A. E. Raubitschek applies his special knowledge of Greek epigraphy to the search for the nature of an Athenian festival devoted to a Roman general and dictator. These are examples of the variety and briskness of the scholarship to be found between the covers of this *Festschrift*, learned fare from which we may long feast with pleasure.

American Numismatic Society

ALINE ABAECHERLI BOYCE

CHRISTIANITY AND PAGAN CULTURE IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE, TOGETHER WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S ADDRESS ON VAINGLORY AND THE RIGHT WAY FOR PARENTS TO BRING UP THEIR CHILDREN. By M. L. W. Laistner, John Stambaugh Professor of History in Cornell University. [James W. Richard Lectures in History for 1950-1951, delivered in the University of Virginia on October 24-26, 1950.] (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 145. \$2.50.)

THE main text of this book, as indicated in the bibliographical data above, is based on three lectures given at the University of Virginia in 1950. The exposition is necessarily brief, but it is at once sufficiently comprehensive and concrete to do

justice to its central theme. The retention of the direct, lively tone of the lecture style makes the book unusually attractive to the general reader as well as to the specialist. Discussion of points of detail and problems is available in some closely packed pages of notes at the end of the book.

In chapter I, "Pagan Culture in Its Decline," the author gives an excellent sketch of Greek and Roman education in its main features from the close of the silver age to the end of antiquity. While recognizing the all-pervading influence of rhetoric, he rightly points out the good as well as the bad in late Roman education and its adequacy as a basic general training for a career in the imperial administration. Chapter II, "The Training of the Christian Convert," is primarily concerned with Christian catechetical instruction in East and West in the period after Constantine. It may be recommended as a short, but clear, accurate, and up-to-date presentation of the subject. The title of chapter III, "The Higher Education of Christians," hardly indicates its full scope. The chapter actually deals with the attitude of the Christians to pagan higher education, the practical compromise which was reached, and the special program of scriptural and theological studies developed by the Christians themselves. The author discusses all these matters with his usual competence and good sense.

The translation of St. John Chrysostom's homily or treatise, which appears as an appendix, constitutes in some respects the most original and valuable part of the present book. This little masterpiece in the field of Christian education is distinguished for its sound moral teaching in theory and practice, for its deep psychological and pedagogical insight, and for its charming style. Yet, owing to the disputes over its authenticity—the question was settled only in 1907—it was not included in the great collections of Chrysostom's works and has remained largely unknown, especially in the English-speaking world. Laistner's translation is the first in English since the incomplete and inaccurate version of John Evelyn in 1659.

A few critical comments may be offered: On page 46, the *De Sacramentis*, which most scholars now regard as genuine, should be listed along with the *De Mysteriis* of St. Ambrose. On page 52, reference should have been made to the example of Moses and Daniel, which is so often cited in patristic literature as an argument in favor of attending pagan schools and employing pagan learning. On page 53, the use of *philosophia* in the meaning given occurs before Chrysostom, e.g., in Gregory Nazianzen. On page 129, note 45, it might be remarked that Dom Morin, in an article published in 1928, claimed Ambrosian authorship for the *Explanatio symboli* mentioned here.

Catholic University of America

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

EUROPA IM MITTELALTER: ALTE TATSACHEN UND NEUE GESICHTSPUNKTE: EINE EINFÜHRUNG MIT BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER NICHTDEUTSCHEN STAATEN. By Justus

Hashagen. [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen.] (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1951. Pp. vii, 519. Ln. DM 22.)

WRITTEN in the spirit of Ranke by a quondam pupil of Lamprecht, this excellent survey of the Middle Ages reflects in title and content post-World War II ideals of Western European union. It is not another of those so-called medieval histories that turn out to be the story of medieval Germany, with some incidental remarks upon other contemporary nations revolving on her periphery, but a sound, comprehensive account of all the peoples between the Atlantic and the Dnieper who contributed to the founding of the European world. To be sure, the approach remains basically German: the Middle Ages begin not with Roman decline but with the *Völkerwanderungen*, the German aspects of the latter being viewed through Dopschian spectacles; they end with the German Reformation, not the Italian Renaissance; and the Holy Roman Reich and internal German politics occupy a disproportionate amount of space. But the treatment of German and non-German subjects is objective; regions such as France, England, and Slavdom receive full attention; and, on the whole, the European as against the national standpoint is successfully maintained.

Although modestly styled an introduction, and capable of serving effectively as such, the book is well above the level of an elementary manual. Its lucid, intelligent summaries of many controversial questions, its constant citation of much recent (chiefly German) periodical literature and its generally discerning interpretations make it valuable for all students of medieval history. Hashagen divides the subject into four periods, the limits of each of which will certainly be questioned by many: a preparatory period before 700 A.D.; the early Middle Ages, running through the eleventh century; the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, defined as the culmination of the typically medieval; and the later Middle Ages. The latter three periods receive substantially equal coverage, material being presented within them largely according to country. Introductory and concluding chapters discuss in nonmetaphysical fashion the broad problems of historical interpretation, of sources, and of the over-all characteristics and significance of the medieval phase of European history.

Political history is given major emphasis, often to excess. Medieval culture fares not too badly, but (even allowing for limitations of space) institutional, social, and economic questions, e.g., manorialism, the urban revolution, the conciliar movement, are treated primarily in terms of their political consequences. Territorial expansion is emphasized as one of the two dominant features of the Middle Ages—the other being the formation of a distinctive, consciously European civilization—but except for the German East and the crusades medieval frontier expansion is not well covered, notably in the cases of Spain, Portugal (before 1400), England, and Russia. Implicitly throughout, and at many points explicitly, Hashagen demolishes two decades of Nazi distortion of medieval history; on topics such as Charlemagne, the Saxons, medieval Jewry, the Teutonic Knights, the

Drang nach Osten, the primitive Slavs, and others similar, he represents a return to historical sanity and balance. Indeed, the work as a whole so successfully clears the ground of ultranationalist rubbish, so stoutly reaffirms the finest German traditions of historical scholarship, and so effectively presents an informed, trustworthy review of the creation of Europe in the Middle Ages that one can only hope that the book may serve as the training ground of the new generation of German medieval historians.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

LES NORMANDS EN MÉDITERRANÉE. By *Jean Beraud Villars*. (Paris: Editions Albin Michel. 1951. Pp. 361. 750 fr.)

THIS penetrating work traces the course of the Normans from their appearance in Europe at the beginning of the ninth century to the end of the Norman kingdom of Sicily and the death of Tancred at Palermo in the year 1194. Book I opens up the Scandinavian and Normandy background of the Mediterranean ventures and makes a number of fresh observations on Norman history. In Book II Normans from *La Basse Normandie* put their oars into the troubled political and social waters of southern Italy. The personality and activities of Robert Guiscard as free lance, as duke of Apulia, conquerer of Sicily, and ally of Gregory VII are well delineated. Book III details, sometimes at a snail's pace, the activities of the Norman-French kingdom of Sicily from the days of Roger de Hauteville, brother of Guiscard, through the one hundred eventful years ending with the death of Tancred.

The book contains a dozen excellent full-page reproductions of the best Norman remains in southern Italy and Sicily such as mosaics of Norman rulers from the cathedral of Montreale and churches in Palermo, the unique tomb of Bohemund and clear reproductions of manuscript sources together with maps and genealogical charts. The author has walked over the territory with a camera and with a keen eye for relationships between terrain, architecture, and history, best illustrated perhaps by his excellent chapters on the Sicily of Roger II (1095-1154). These chapters also demonstrate that most of the policies often thought of in connection with Frederick II had deep roots in the Norman kingdom which had itself inherited not a few practices from the Greeks and Saracens in the area.

About sixty pages, divided between the beginning and the end of the book, provide a good synthesis of Norman history. The question is taken up as to why the Normans, so profound in their influence upon a broad medieval world stretching from Russia to America, from Greenland to Africa, passed away almost as mysteriously as they came without leaving behind them a culture, a language, or an empire. Vigorously foremost in all European movements from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries (conquering England, helping reconquer Spain, dominating the middle Mediterranean for a century, surging east to spark the crusades and

the beginnings of Russia, sweeping west over Iceland and Labrador to a premature discovery of America), Villars thinks they muffed their vast and almost unparalleled opportunities. The marvel is not that they did so much but, with Europe and half the world lying impotent before them, that they actually accomplished so little of a permanent nature. He thinks this was because they had no steady objective, no patriotism, no motives but plunder and selfishness, and an exuberant, fierce materialism. They blended quickly with other peoples because they came as men and almost universally took wives from among the indigenous population.

Interesting contrasts are drawn between the easy penetration of the Normans into the interior of northern Europe and England and their comparatively unsuccessful attempts to crack the coastline of powerful Moslem Spain. Moslem chroniclers and historians like El Nowair and Ibn Khaldun are quoted to show how different the story was in Spain where the heads of two hundred trespassing Norsemen were sent as presents into Africa and quantities of Norse prisoners were crucified in Lisbon. Large Saracen fleets met the Norsemen with machines that threw Greek fire into their long Norse craft and they soon contented themselves with passing through the Straits toward the weaker lands of the central Mediterranean.

The author makes extensive uses of the historical sources but he has apparently made little effort to employ recent editions or to take advantage of the latest scholarship in the field. The bibliography is poor (twenty-eight items of mostly out-of-date works with "etc., etc." at the end) and thrown carelessly into a format that would be unacceptable from an American college freshman in his first course in history. Annotation is virtually nonexistent. Nothing indicates that Villars consulted M. Cahen's *Le régime féodal de l'Italie normande* (Paris, 1940), which summarizes previous work in the field and shows more conclusively than Villars that in Sicily the Norman feudal institutions formed a superstructure which in the long run had little effect upon the territory or the people of the realm. Nor is there mention of the authoritative works of the active Neapolitan scholar, G. M. Monti, *Il regno normanno-svevo di Sicilia* (Bari, 1930), *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia nel medio evo* (Baro, 1930), and *Lo stato normanno-svevo* (Naples, 1934), who revived Norman-Italian studies in our time. German scholarship could have enriched Villars immeasurably, but he did not consult Scheffer-Boichorst or Karl Andreas Kehr, the fathers of the study of Norman Sicily. Villars, leaned heavily upon Aimé's *Ystoire de li Normant* without consulting the recent critical study of Aimé by Wilhelm Smidt (in *Studi Gregoriani*, III [1948], 173-231). Perhaps some day some ambitious scholar in the field will bring up to date Jules Thieury's old *Bibliographie Italico-Normande* (Paris, 1864).

State University of New York,
Champlain College

OSCAR G. DARLINGTON

THE ABBEY AND BISHOPRIC OF ELY: THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL ESTATE FROM THE TENTH CENTURY TO THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By *Edward Miller*, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume I.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 313. \$5.00.)

As should be evident from what precedes, this is not a book designed for popular reading. The author could easily have inserted much legendary detail and imaginative description to enhance, superficially, the history of so famous a church. Instead he gives us a scholarly essay based on careful study of the relevant sources—not at all exciting but, in my opinion, fundamentally sound.

Mr. Miller begins by stating:

It is impossible to obtain any comprehensive view of the lands of Ely abbey or of the inhabitants of those lands, until we come down to *Domesday Book*. At the same time a proper understanding of the information given there calls for some attempt to get behind *Domesday*, in fact (if this is possible) to go back to the beginnings of the abbey's history [p. 8].

With regard to this early history, he finds, we may be sure of only a few conclusions: that St. Etheldreda founded the monastery in the seventh century; that, in the tenth century, King Edgar refounded it with greatly enhanced liberties; and that all such liberties were confirmed by Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror.

In chapter III ("The Old English Estate and the Norman Conquest") Mr. Miller comes to a subject that seems more to interest him: the lands held or claimed by the abbot of Ely in 1086 and their status as described by *Domesday Book*, the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, and related documents. This is a tough subject, as I know from the little study I have made of it. Even to summarize Mr. Miller's conclusions would lead to a technical discussion entirely out of place in a brief review. I merely say that he has taken into careful account much that has more recently appeared on the problem of manorial origins, especially the work of Marc Bloch.

In later chapters (IV–VIII) Mr. Miller shows how Henry I established a bishopric of Ely and how this establishment tended to revolutionize the monastic system of administration. No previous essay, to my knowledge, has given us so clear a picture of such transformation. Much else in these chapters must here be passed over: thus the precise nature of the "honour" and the "liberty" of St. Etheldreda under the Angevins, together with interesting details concerning military and agrarian tenants of Ely in the later Middle Ages. All students of medieval society and institutions are advised to read this book.

Two queries remain. On pages 27ff. Mr. Miller seems to imply that "immunity" meant the right to hold a court. This was certainly not true on the Continent during the earlier Middle Ages. On page 56 he remarks that "com-

mendation may easily have shaded off into homage for land once the abbots had asserted a superior dominion over the land." The statement shows a clear understanding neither of commendation nor of homage. But I still say that Mr. Miller has given us an excellent bit of work.

Cornell University

CARL STEPHENSON

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR. By *Edouard Perroy*, Professor of Medieval History at the Sorbonne. With an Introduction to the English Edition by *David C. Douglas*, Professor of History in the University of Bristol. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. 376. \$6.00.)

IN his volume *The Feudal Monarchy in France and England*, Petit-Dutaillis introduced us to the idea that a parallel study of these countries revealed a symbiosis, which made their individual histories more comprehensible. Professor Perroy's volume serves, in many ways, as a sequel to the earlier work and, by the nature of his subject, emphasizes and elaborates in similar fashion the interaction of events upon both kingdoms. Such an approach requires not only familiarity with a very wide field of scholarship but it also calls for a well-developed philosophy of human affairs. The student of politics as well as of history will find this book rewarding. Presumably also this may be regarded as an intellectual *tour de force* since the author explains that he wrote in 1943-44 while enjoying "the precarious leisure granted . . . during an exciting game of hide-and-seek with the Gestapo." Certainly participation in recent events has helped him to understand the disasters of the past, although only occasionally is this indicated in words. But how pregnant is the single sentence, "Let us not cast the first stone at Joan of Arc's contemporaries: we have seen worse since." By treating the Hundred Years' War as a topic in itself, instead of a chapter in French or English history, the contemporary developments in both countries can be pictured as part of the story of the war and effective contrasts observed and explained. Institutional developments are thus shown to be, as of course they were, adaptations to the exigencies of war and not intentional preliminaries for later constitutional growth.

For teachers and students in American universities a book such as this should excite enthusiasm. It offers in readable form a synthesis of a half century of scholarship with corrections for the older, conventional stereotypes adequately noted. We may hope that from such an attractive presentation as this these corrections will get into future textbooks. This reviewer welcomes such dicta as, "Unlike our modern imperialisms, the medieval monarchies did not go to war to create outlets for their trade or to gain markets. We cannot speak, before the second half of the fifteenth century, of any economic policy on the part of the sovereigns which took precedence over their dynastic dreams and their projects of conquest." It is also refreshing to find a work with a broad sweep completely free from assumptions about inevitable trends. Possibly the Hundred Years' War offers particularly effective examples of the play of accident and the opportunistic and

personal character of what passed for policy. Addicts to the Whig interpretation of history will find the author's comments on the Estates General unsympathetic, and his assertions about Lancastrian "constitutionalism" little to their liking. Only a writer confident of his mastery would deal boldly with the traditional heroes. He presents Du Guesclin as some one who "enjoyed a popularity out of all proportion to his talents and exploits." He offers a truly realistic and balanced presentation of Joan of Arc in which he concludes that it is permissible to doubt that she exercised "that essential influence on the course of events which is always attributed to her," and asserts that the effect of her fervor "scarcely went beyond the limited circle of those who had the privilege of approaching her or living with her." At the end is a useful, selective, critical bibliographical note which, among other good things, warns that few in the overwhelming mass of books on Joan "are of any use to the historian." We should be grateful to the translator for making this work available to American readers, and to Professor Douglas for his stimulating, interpretive introduction.

Williams College

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

THE HEROIC AGE OF SCANDINAVIA. By *G. Turville-Petre*, Vigfusson Reader in Ancient Icelandic Literature and Antiquities in the University of Oxford. [Hutchinson's University Library.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1951. Pp. viii, 196. Trade \$2.25, text \$1.80.)

LES PEUPLES SCANDINAVES AU MOYEN AGE. By *Lucien Musset*, Agrégé d'Histoire et de Géographie, Professeur au Lycée de Caen. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. viii, 342. 1.000 fr.)

IN scope and purpose these books are similar. Each begins with primitive life in Scandinavia as a whole; each carries the story down through the life of St. Olav (d.1030), then Musset in his longer book continues to the sixteenth century and the break that came with Protestantism. Each, from a scholarly background, interprets Scandinavia to a general audience. There similarity ceases, for in style and method and outlook the differences are great.

Turville-Petre is concerned primarily with "the tangled web of history and fiction" in the eddas, the scaldic poetry, and the sagas. His knowledge and his judgment create confidence. He is well aware of the mysteries and contradictions in his literary sources; he sprinkles his text with doubts and with phrases like "if the sources can be trusted"; and he checks the northern legends with the records of the English, Germans, and French. He emphasizes the positive half of the half-truths in the warrior legends: "If we ignore such tales . . . we are left with a poorer appreciation of the age" (p. 154). He compares the historic record with the Beowulf story, but adds nothing new. He contributes a nice piece of analysis on the dating of Harald Hårfagr (whom he calls Finehair), concluding that the battle of Hafrsfjörd came about 885 instead of about 872 as has been commonly

accepted (pp. 115-17). The significance of the later date is to lessen the importance of the strong man in Norway as the cause of the settlement of Iceland, for the migration had begun well before 885.

The major concern of the author with literature per se is emphasized by the last two chapters on "Scaldic Poetry and History," and "The First Icelandic Historians," both of which are useful epitomes. In essence Turville-Petre depicts the public history of the northern peoples as evidenced in their literature, with a resultant bias toward personalities and genealogies.

Professor Musset has done much more. Not only is his book 500 years and 146 pages longer. It is also richly documented with footnote references that serve as good guides to the recent and often controversial writings of Scandinavian, German, and English scholars. The French author is not as original as the English, but his reading has been wide and wise and his presentation is well balanced and readable. No better over-all summary is known to the reviewer.

Most important of all is that Musset, while being careful with the facts and probabilities of history, also considers the causes of events as any real historian must do. In the later centuries it is easier to treat of economic conditions and social structure because materials are more ample, but even with Vikings this author makes clear the distinction between the Vikings as pirates in the west and as merchants in the east, and at least partially explains why this is true. He pays attention to the noble ships of the Vikings as well as to their chieftains. He deals with agriculture, justice, slavery. His treatment of the slow and confused expansion of Christianity into the North shows the stimulating effect of the southern impact; Scandinavian culture was not destroyed but revived by improved contacts and by the introduction of a system of writing that improved upon the runes.

The contrast between the two books is that Turville-Petre wrote about what he wanted to write, yet his book is narrow in scope and heavy in style; Musset wrote about what he thought needed to be written and produced a book broad in scope and beautifully clear in style.

Northwestern University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

Modern European History

SOME MODERN HISTORIANS OF BRITAIN: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF R. L. SCHUYLER BY SOME OF HIS FORMER STUDENTS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. Edited by *Herman Ausubel*, *J. Bartlet Brebner*, and *Erling M. Hunt*. (New York: Dryden Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 384. \$5.00.)

THE readers of this interesting collection of essays should keep two things in mind. In the first place, as the editors point out, the book is about "some" modern historians of Great Britain; the choice of names has been to a certain extent haphazard, or rather it has been determined by the special interests of the

contributors. No one would dispute the place given to three living British historians, though an English selector, if he were considering contemporary contributions to English history, and not limiting himself to British-born historians, would probably have given one of these three places to an American. On the other hand the book would have been more comprehensive if the contributors had found it possible to include among historians of the last three generations any of the following in the places of Goldwin Smith, Leslie Stephen, Lord Morley, and A. P. Newton: Clapham, Cunningham, Freeman, Pollard, Stubbs, and Tout. (Macaulay, J. R. Green, and Maitland have been omitted because Professor Schuyler himself has published essays on them.)

It is also necessary to remember that the contributors to a book of this kind cannot easily "place" the subjects of their several essays in the general setting of the development of historical studies in Great Britain. The essays are about individuals, not about "tendencies" or the development of any one school of historical writing. Thus each of the twenty-two studies has a special and "enclosed" interest but does not necessarily link up with the other studies. English historians, for that matter, worked, especially in the nineteenth century, in an individual way, and were, if one likes so to put it, as "amateur" as most English viceroys of India. Even Acton, who preached—too often and too loudly—the superiority of German methods was himself unmethodical to such a lamentable extent that he never finished—and in some cases did not even begin—his larger projects.

The essays are full of acute comment and valuable material, and it is not easy to single out any one of them for special mention. Among the earlier historians Lingard and Hallam are excellently done. Four essays are about my older contemporaries. In each case the writer seemed to me to have summed up most accurately the men as well as their work. Professor Brebner's account of Halévy is admirable; so also is Miss Rex's essay on Firth. If I were to add one sentence it would be to mention the generosity and friendliness which these two scholars always showed to their younger colleagues; Halévy at his house outside Paris, or on his many visits to England, or Firth at dessert in an Oxford Common room, talking about the lesser-known figures of the seventeenth century just as though they were members of a neighboring College. Holdsworth, again, was a man of immense industry who did not waste an hour, yet he would never leave an undergraduate's question unanswered. (Holdsworth, alone among his colleagues, told the members of the last University Commission at Oxford that in his opinion professors should do more, and not less, undergraduate teaching.)

Mrs. Sims, writing on Namier, has produced the best essay on a living historian; I should want to add to it that there is a nobility about Namier's work not commonly found in English historical writing since Acton. I should disagree with a good many of Professor Hurwitz's judgments on Mr. Churchill; it seems to me that he has allowed his opinion of Churchill as a politician to infiltrate too much into his judgment on Churchill as a historian, and even that he has failed to keep in mind the statements in the preface of every volume of "The

Second World War." Above all, from my own experience in working over a great deal of the same documentary material for the history of the Second World War, I should dissent strongly from the view that Churchill "fails to recreate the past." Professor Nelson, on Tawney, has a good subject and treats it well, though I doubt whether Tawney himself would agree that "there used to be only Whig historians" or that until the Hammonds, Cole, and a few others (not, incidentally, including the Webbs), "the affairs of the peasants and workers" had been largely excluded from English historical writing.

Finally, this book, as the contributors intended, does signal honor to the master to whom it is presented. It can be taken for granted that a historian would never have held the position occupied by Professor Schuyler if he had not been a fine scholar. These essays also show how well he has taught his pupils, and how they have learned from him, a broad and humane approach to their subjects, quietness in writing, and sympathy as well as critical skill in judging the work of others.

Institute for Advanced Study

E. L. WOODWARD

IRISH NATIONALISM AND BRITISH DEMOCRACY. By *Eric Strauss*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 307.)

"THE subject of this book," according to the author's preface, "is neither the history of Ireland nor that of Great Britain but the nexus between the two countries particularly during the time of the Legislative Union of 1801-1921" (p. v). It is far more than this! It is a sympathetic study of Irish insurrections. It extols the use of violence and seeks to explain why so many rebellions failed. Disdainful of scientific objectivity as a cloak for moral cowardice, the author assumes the role of judge and critic of groups and individuals—but not from a national or party point of view. His standards of judgment and criticism are the Marxian standards of economic determinism and class conflict.

His *a priori* assumptions distort both English and Irish history. He greatly exaggerates Irish influence in English social and political development during the nineteenth century. The Irish question, as he sees it, was as important in English history as the Industrial Revolution, and the most important question in the imperial parliament during the first half of the nineteenth century. "It set in motion," he says, "the train of events which culminated in the great Reform Bill of 1832 and it was the proximate cause of the crisis which ended in the Repeal of the Corn Laws . . ." (p. 116).

An even greater distortion results from the author's efforts to force Irish history into the Marxian mold of class conflict. According to his version of Ireland, religion and patriotism cease to be the major dynamic forces; rather, "social interests" become the determining factors. The class concept transmutes the Roman Catholic Church into an agency to subordinate the masses to middle-class leadership (p. 93). Even Daniel O'Connell ceases to be the great Liberator, for he pur-

chased the victory of Catholic Emancipation "at the expense of Ireland's political future" (p. 95).

A note of lamentation runs throughout these pages because the Irish rebels never grew into full-bodied revolutionaries and because the fires of insurrection never blazed into a conflagration to destroy the old order. The author engenders little enthusiasm for the early patriotic rebels. Not until he reaches the Fenians does he find a group worthy of his admiration. He considers them to be "the cream of the Irish people" (p. 150). His greatest admiration goes to Michael Davitt, "the Lancaster mill hand who had to sacrifice one arm to the Moloch of capitalist industry when he ought to have been in school, and who underwent years of penal servitude for his participation in dangerous but futile dynamiting activities of the Fenians" (p. 156). He admires the Fenians, for they understood the concept of force as the only effective weapon for the overthrow of English rule.

The author's narration moves swiftly from epoch to epoch and event to event. Occasional interspersed chapters, reflecting on the course of events, attempt to summarize and interpret. Two chapters, describing economic conditions resulting from the famine, emigration, and the repeal of the Corn Laws, are especially instructive. In the writing of this history he has utilized many printed source materials and substantial secondary works; his strong Marxian bias, however, has made his selection of materials more eclectic than synthetic. A work so discursive and dogmatic will serve the historian very little. Its antireligious bias will certainly offend the Irish Catholics. It will please chiefly those who have already accepted the Marxian view of history and whose sympathies warmly identify them with the "oppressed masses" of Ireland.

Lehigh University

RAYMOND G. COWHERD

PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF ENGLISH SOCIALISM. By *Adam B. Ulam*. [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. 173. \$3.75.)

THE author of this valuable study has turned his eyes aside from his principal preoccupation with the Russian Research Center of Harvard University for a glance at another revolution which, in the long run, may be far more important for the political and institutional life of the Western world than its more violent cousin of the East. Since "socialism is the prevailing political philosophy of our age" (p. 96) there is everything to be said for an examination of its origins wherever, and in whatever guise, it may appear. This is particularly true when a form of socialism grows from the root system of political democracy and spreads its foliage—which is to shade so many from the fierce heat of the sun—from the intellectual trunk and branches of the liberal state. Accepting the Labor government that came to power in 1945 as the outward and visible substance of revolution, the author is concerned with discovering and describing the portions of English political thought that gave philosophical content to the socialist move-

ment before it reached office and some measure of intellectual acceptability to its program in office.

This has been done with skill and clarity. There has been, moreover, a wise insistence upon keeping speculative thought as closely related to political reality as possible through the admission that great political movements do not depend upon philosophical justification nearly so much as upon the emotional satisfaction of ethical and moral aspirations. "The power of a philosopher lies in that he can stir up great waves of feeling and agitation," while his lasting value resides in "what is left of his meaning and insights in the presence of today's problems."

Within these limitations, the contribution of the idealists—T. H. Green, Bradley, and Bosanquet—to socialism is the concept of an enlarged role for the state loosed from the confining embrace of liberalism and laissez-faire. Theirs was a defense of the state as it intervened with positive measures for the moral advancement of the citizen. In the Fabians the author sees a political staff dedicated to the mission of providing good works for the state to accomplish and to the persuasion of "a large part of the nation that socialism is a refinement and the logical conclusion of democracy."

Pluralism takes its place as an interesting attempt to limit the scope of a state suddenly grown great, while gild socialism is a wedding of socialism and pluralism celebrated in the nostalgic hope of recapturing the securities of an earlier, and less strident, age. While idealists, Fabians, and gild socialist each contributed something, the theme must come to rest upon its modern position which leaves rather more to practical politics than to moral exaltation. This position is that the state may do what the majority desires; socialism thus appears as the rational and logical development of political democracy.

It is no light accomplishment to have found one's way so deftly along an uneven and treacherous path. Other paths remain to be explored—the religious basis of English socialism comes most readily to mind—and it is to be hoped that other lines of advance will be pushed into the target area of the most pressing political problem of our time. The example here set deserves to be emulated.

University of North Carolina

JAMES L. GODFREY

THE EMERGENCE OF THE GREAT POWERS, 1685-1715. By *John B. Wolf*, University of Minnesota. [The Rise of Modern Europe.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1951. Pp. xv, 336. Trade \$5.00, text \$3.75.)

WITH the publication of his *Emergence of the Great Powers*, Professor Wolf has added another valuable work to the major co-operative series which American scholars have produced in the field of European history. As an effort to synthesize much of the complex history of a relatively neglected period, the volume will be welcomed by teachers and students of early modern European history and should appeal to certain sections of the general reading public. In accordance with

the plan of the series of which it is a part, Professor Wolf's study gives extensive and detailed consideration to the political, economic, intellectual, and cultural achievements of the age, on both the national and international levels. Within this framework, certain fields are especially well handled, particularly those which the author believes to provide the dynamic elements in society: international wars and diplomacy, and related administrative developments. Throughout the volume, the general theme is that indicated by the title: the rapid emergence of the major European powers as the predominant factor in human experience. These powers are seen to take the form of increasingly efficient bureaucratic units within their borders and aggressive military states in international affairs, with the result that the Europe of this period rapidly assumed many of its "modern" characteristics. This theme accounts for the structure of the volume and the relative weight which the author gives to its various portions.

A careful analysis of Professor Wolf's study will readily indicate that he has read very widely in the secondary sources of his complex period. The volume is essentially a restatement, and in part a reinterpretation, of previously known information regarding those developments which the author considers significant in the many fields of human activity. Ideas and materials are presented from a large and generally well-selected body of historical literature, often in a very provocative manner. And in shaping up his interpretations, Professor Wolf acknowledges the help of numerous aides. The bibliographical essay at the close of the volume will serve as an adequate introduction to the literature of any subject which is treated at length in the body of the work, and will provide a serviceable instrument for advanced students of the period. As for matters of style, Professor Wolf expresses himself with considerable vigor and succeeds in conveying to the reader what is apparently a large measure of genuine interest in a wide variety of topics. The volume has the very considerable advantage of the clarity and directness of a forceful prose style, and carries the reader along at a rapid rate through a highly varied subject matter. Occasionally, Professor Wolf's flair for turning a phrase and making an apt generalization will present the reader with statements which are patently half-truths, for example: "European governments were assuming a characteristically modern shape and thereby rendering dynastic politics altogether anachronistic"; or "Louis [XIV] was evolving a modern state, but he ruled it in the spirit of a Renaissance prince." However, in view of its scope and general level of performance, the volume must be regarded as the best available work on the subject in English.

Since this volume treats a large variety of topics within the limits of a thirty-year period, Professor Wolf is forced to evaluate the relative importance of the many forces in European society and to stress those which he believes underlie and explain the crucial developments of the age. Such an approach necessitates a large measure of historical interpretation, and at the same time subjects the author to the risk of overemphasizing the importance of this generation relative to others in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As is indicated by the title,

the major significance of the period for its author and the main theme of the book are found in the emergence of the great powers and the appearance of many identifiable features of modern Europe. The framework within which Professor Wolf views this phenomenon is surprisingly simple, since he sees it essentially as a transition from medieval political disunity and inefficiency to the modern absolute state which absorbs, directs, and controls all phases of human activity. Repeatedly, Professor Wolf states that medieval survivals limited total mobilization of national resources, but that this difficulty was being overcome by the increasing efficiency of the administrative state. Although the reader will occasionally be uncertain as to whether these "medieval" survivals stem from the twelfth century or the sixteenth, it is manifest that the degree to which they were eliminated represents Professor Wolf's measure of progress during the age. The result is that he stresses those aspects of administrative systems which foreshadowed modern governmental procedures, and neglects those which limited the central authority. For example, the government of Louis XIV is presented largely in terms of royal councils, intendants, the standing army, and the corps of professional administrators whose control over the national resources was marred chiefly by an antiquated financial system. One looks in vain for adequate mention of such "medieval" survivals as the Parlement of Paris, provincial estates and parlements, the legal rights of social, professional, and territorial units, not to mention venality of office and the heterogeneity of legal codes. Further, it is apparent that Professor Wolf overstates the unique importance of developments during this generation. Although he qualifies his generalizations, he insists that the great wars not only forced the elimination of many older administrative inefficiencies but caused the major Western powers to assume the general governmental forms which they retained in succeeding centuries. Unfortunately, this is not entirely borne out by the record, as is shown in various portions of the volume itself. The modern state was the product of centuries of evolution in many areas, and its development did not always proceed along direct lines. In spite of Professor Wolf's enthusiasm for his period, he does not establish the fact that the modern state owes more to this generation than to many others in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Finally, Professor Wolf's ideas concerning historical causation should be examined. Regarding this most baffling of problems, he states explicitly that "the great wars of the period were immediate determinants of the historical process and, therefore, should be the main political theme." In consequence, a very large portion of the volume is devoted to international wars and diplomacy, the instruments through which these were carried out, and their effects upon society. Although these topics are treated well in many areas, again the record does not substantiate the claim that wars represented the exclusive or even the primary cause of social change, witness the treatment of the problem in the chapter "Economics and War." As for the abstract forces in society, these are treated under general heads—science, art, and religion—but always in a vacuum as concerns

the motive forces underlying historical causation. Although correctly interpreted as man's increasing effort to understand "the cosmos, the earth, and man himself," intellectual factors are dissociated from any forces influencing political or social matters. The elimination of abstracts from Professor Wolf's schema explaining the march of events is best exemplified by his relative neglect of the political thought of the age. Twice as much space is devoted to music and the baroque and rococo styles as to political thought, which is discussed in the last section of the last chapter almost as an afterthought, and is totally neglected in the bibliography. Although surprising in view of Professor Wolf's knowledge of the period, this is doubtless explained by the fact that his idea of historical causation approaches the anti-intellectual. Whether such a philosophy of history is incorrect is not for this reviewer to state, but readers of Professor Wolf's volume will regret his heavy weighting of the pragmatic factors in society and his relative neglect of political and social ideals during the early years of the Enlightenment.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

LES DÉBUTS DU CATHOLICISME SOCIAL EN FRANCE (1822-1870). By *Jean-Baptiste Duroselle*. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. xii, 787. 1,200 fr.)

L'ACTION SOCIALE DES CATHOLIQUES EN FRANCE (1871-1901). By *Henri Rollet*. (Paris: Boivin & Cie. [1948.] Pp. 725. 860 fr.)

THE concerted efforts of the Catholic Church in France to win the support of the working classes in the past quarter-century are relatively well known, but it is only within the last four years that historians have turned to the problem of the origins of the Social Catholic movement in that country. M. Duroselle, a professor at the University of the Saar, and M. Rollet, a young Catholic industrialist, provide us with the first comprehensive treatment of Social Catholicism in the nineteenth century, a field hitherto examined only in monographs of limited scope and in inadequate surveys. Both works are *thèses de doctorat*, based on extensive research in widely scattered sources and, as a result, contain an enormous amount of valuable new material.

Perhaps the principal impression that emerges from a study of Social Catholic activity in the preceding century is a sense of its futility, of the discrepancy between effort exerted and results obtained. One need only glance at these two volumes to appreciate the vast number of treatises, pamphlets, newspapers, and reviews produced by Catholic reformers, the countless societies, associations, clubs, and study groups founded by them, and then ask with M. Rollet to what extent Catholic social action had affected French labor at the turn of the century. The anticlericalism of a large percentage of workers in 1900 and their indifference to the major legislative blows dealt the church in the following decade are indicative of the Social Catholics' failure to penetrate the proletariat to any significant

degree. Both M. Duroselle and M. Rollet, though naturally more concerned with the positive achievements of the Social Catholics, have sought an explanation for their lack of success and emerge with some important conclusions.

Professor Duroselle's study, published under the auspices of the Bibliothèque de la Science politique, is without question the more significant of the two works. He has succeeded in organizing a remarkably heterogeneous mass of evidence into a coherent and meaningful synthesis. Beginning with the question of terminology, he concedes that the expression "social catholicism" did not enjoy general usage until about 1890, but contends that a minority of Catholics has nevertheless been concerned with the improvement of working-class conditions since the Restoration. Whether these pioneers elaborated large-scale projects of social reform and called themselves "Christian Socialists" or whether they established associations for the moral edification of young workingmen and termed their activity "charitable economy" is immaterial for the author; they may all be considered "Social Catholics" so long as they aimed at the amelioration of the workers' lot and gave positive evidence of their Catholicism. Perhaps Duroselle's definition is too broad but it has the advantage of permitting him to include in his study figures of such diverse backgrounds and opinions as P.-J.-B. Buchez, a Saint-Simonian converted to Catholicism and first president of the National Assembly in 1848 as well as the legitimist Vicomte Armand de Melun, founder of the paternalistic "Société d'Economie charitable." Indeed, Duroselle's thesis is that the separation between what he terms the "conservative" and "democratic" currents of Social Catholicism was not absolute before 1848; moderates such as Frédéric Ozanam, founder of the Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, were hopeful of reconciling the two groups, and it appeared during the first weeks of the Revolution that their efforts would be crowned with success. But the social uprisings of May 15 and the June Days so disillusioned the conservative elements that all hopes for unified action vanished; the next three years saw the gradual disintegration of the democratic elements which, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist after the *coup d'état*. Under the Second Empire, Social Catholicism assumed the paternalistic and counter-revolutionary bias that was to characterize the movement until the end of the century. It is obvious that Duroselle's sympathies are with the democratic idealists who lost out in '48 and he considers their eclipse a serious blow to the movement for the remainder of the century. True, like all Christian Socialists, they were distrusted by their coreligionists as radicals and attacked by other Socialists for their moderation; nevertheless, their chances of penetrating the working class were potentially greater than those of the conservatives who displaced them.

M. Rollet's analysis of the social action of French Catholics in the succeeding years is based on research every bit as thorough as that of Duroselle; not only has he gained access to numerous archives now in private hands but he has also had the benefit of personal interviews with many of the individuals whose activities he discusses. Nevertheless the over-all result falls far short of Duroselle's study;

the organization of the book is unimaginative, the presentation pedestrian. It might be argued that the earlier period is essentially of greater interest because of the series of colorful figures who dominated it, but the last thirty years of the century also produced some remarkable personalities: Léon Harmel, the devoted Catholic *patron* who was known to his workers in the communal enterprise at Val-des-Bois as "le Bon Père" and who led a series of famous workers' pilgrimages to Rome; or Comte Albert de Mun, crusader in the field of social legislation during his many years in the Chamber of Deputies and, with Jaurès, one of the great parliamentary orators of the Third Republic. M. Rollet provides detailed accounts of the careers of both these leaders and of the projects to which they devoted their lives, but neither the men nor their activities come to life in his hands. What does emerge from his pages is a sense of the inefficacy of so much Catholic action during these years, the miscarriage of so many schemes. For if the ideal of the generation prior to 1890 as embodied in the writings of René de la Tour du Pin was the advent of a harmonious national community dependent on the church, governed by the king, and characterized by a corporate form of organization, the France of 1901 was a far cry from that ideal. Nor were the "*abbés démocrates*" of the 1890's much more successful in their attempt to infuse Christian principles into contemporary society or to reorganize the working class along professional lines.

It is true that the period with which Rollet deals witnessed the formal elaboration of Catholic doctrine on the problems arising from a complex industrial civilization, but political rather than social issues were paramount in the minds of French Catholics at this time. For example, Leo XIII's great encyclical *Rerum Novarum* issued in 1891 attracted far less attention in France than the papal letter which followed a year later recommending that Catholics abandon their adherence to outmoded political systems and rally to the Republic. It was the constant intrusion of political considerations into their social programs that caused the downfall of the Social Catholics in the last decades of the nineteenth century according to M. Rollet. The royalist and counter-revolutionary bias of the older generation prevented their social doctrine from gaining any popular support, and the overwhelming preoccupation of the Christian-Democratic priests with political and electoral action caused them to neglect the more concrete advances they might have made in the social field. In any case, the political conflict between church and state and the growing anticlericalism of the masses proved too strong an obstacle for the Social Catholics to overcome, and the years 1901-1914 saw the social activity of French Catholics overshadowed in large measure by the struggle with the Republic.

What both Duroselle and Rollet fail to emphasize strongly enough are the internal odds against which the initiators of Social Catholicism were struggling, the indifference of most Catholic leaders to social problems and the hostility of the hierarchy to any but the traditional remedies provided by the church. Only the decline in political differences accompanying the gradual reconciliation of

church and state and the acceptance by French Catholics, both clergy and laity, of a more up-to-date social philosophy have made it possible for present-day Catholics to develop effective programs aimed at the conquest of the working class. They, as well as the professional historian, should find illuminating the experience of their nineteenth-century predecessors exposed so thoroughly by MM. Duroselle and Rollet.

Harvard University

CHARLES BREUNIG

MARIA THERESA AND OTHER STUDIES. By G. P. Gooch. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1951. Pp. viii, 432. \$4.50.)

THE essays of this readable and useful volume fall roughly into two categories: those devoted to Maria Theresa, the "noblest of the Hapsburgs," occupying approximately half the space, and the remaining studies, the principal theme of which is historiographical in character. In the first half of the volume Mr. Gooch returns to the literary pattern which he employed so successfully in his *Courts and Cabinets*. From the gigantic volume of the personal correspondence of Maria Theresa with her numerous brood, statesmen, and friends, already collected and published, Mr. Gooch has selected the letters exchanged with her children, Joseph and Marie Antoinette. The device employed is to make relevant quotation from this personal correspondence, which is at once fairly complete and continuous, the connecting thread of the narrative and to draw upon the vast historical literature only to the extent necessary to make this correspondence intelligible. If we accept these essays on their own terms, the purpose is less to present a definitive narrative or an interpretive analysis, which after all has been frequently attempted, than to convey a vivid impression of the character and personalities of these three individuals as expressed through the medium of their epistolary exchanges. In this the reader will readily admit Mr. Gooch has been remarkably successful. He presents an attractive portrait of the Habsburg empress-queen, of her courage and wisdom, of her honesty and charity, of her uncompromising Christian conscience which compelled her to condemn both the first partition of Poland and the War of the Bavarian Succession, of her capacity to combine a profound and abiding affection for her two wayward children with stern corrective criticism, and finally of her essentially sound estimate of their personalities—for posterity has in the main accepted her judgment of them.

Anyone who is already familiar with this correspondence between Maria Theresa and her son Joseph, especially after his appointment as coregent in 1765, will readily admit that Mr. Gooch has made the most of it. These pages relate an arresting tale of the unsatisfactory working of the triple partnership with Joseph and Kaunitz, in which the queen always remained the dominant member, of the growing conflict of generations and ideologies between the conservative Catholic mother and her doctrinaire *philosophe* son, of tensions which again and again reached the breaking point but always stopped short of it. Here, however, the

limitations of Mr. Gooch's method become painfully obvious. These letters reveal much of the story, but they do not exhaust it. Moreover, not only can what is said in these impassioned letters not always be accepted at its face value but sometimes the crucial letter is no longer available. A case in point is Joseph's long letter of resignation as coregent at Christmas in 1775, after his mother had sharply criticized his deepest convictions, his hostility to the clergy and advocacy of religious toleration, his biting criticism of old institutions and impatience for social reform. Since Maria Theresa's final reply is wanting, we are not told how the conflict was resolved. It is only fair to add that the author has consciously imposed these limitations upon himself.

More successful is Mr. Gooch's procedure in the case of the personal relations between Maria Theresa and Marie Antoinette, for here he had at his disposal not only the unique collection of letters that passed between the two but the more voluminous and complete correspondence between the empress and Count Mercy d'Argenteau, the Austrian ambassador in Paris, a parallel correspondence of which Marie Antoinette never knew. In this essay, the most highly finished and brilliant of the entire volume, Mr. Gooch is at his very best. Here he combines the wit and charm of the essayist in the classical British tradition with the precision and accuracy of the historian and the large sympathetic grasp of the psychologist.

Of the remaining studies with their chiefly historiographical themes the reviewer need say little, since, with a single exception, they have all appeared in print before, some of them more than once. This is true of the bibliographical "Study of the French Revolution" which was published in a revised form in *Studies in Modern History* (1931). The same is true of the now familiar study on the Cambridge Chair of Modern History. Mr. Gooch's admirers will be happy to see a reprint of his penetrating study on Lord Acton with its emphasis on the stern Catholic moralist. More useful still is the sympathetic and searching study on Harold Temperley in which he reviews the entire range of the work of this ornament of Cambridge historical scholarship. Less original but even more captivating is the last essay, "Our Heritage of Liberty," in which Mr. Gooch, an old hand at intellectual history, traces the evolution of our modern liberal and democratic way of life. Finally, it is regrettable that for so admirable a volume the proofreading has been so carelessly done.

Ohio State University

WALTER L. DORN

DEUTSCHLAND UND EUROPA: HISTORISCHE STUDIEN ZUR VÖLKER- UND STAATENORDNUNG DES ABENDLANDES. Festschrift für Hans Rothfels, herausgegeben von *Werner Conze*. (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1951. Pp. 415. DM 17.80.)

FIFTEEN friends and former students presented this *Festschrift* to Hans Rothfels on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday anniversary. Having received his historical training chiefly under Hermann Oncken and Friedrich Meinecke, Dr. Rothfels

became, after the end of World War I, a lecturer in Berlin and subsequently served as professor of history in Königsberg until the Nazis ousted him and eventually drove him into an English exile. In 1940 he came to the United States, where he lectured for the next ten years, first in Brown University and after World War II in Chicago. Recently he accepted a chair at Tübingen University, and is now in Germany. The participation of four American scholars in the creation of the volume is testimony of the friendships he inspired on this side of the Atlantic.

Dr. Rothfels' own studies have been devoted almost exclusively to the history of Germany in the nineteenth century, particularly the Reich of Bismarck. But as a follower of Ranke he never viewed German problems in isolation. Germany was to him part of the European system, sharing in the common political and intellectual struggles of the Continent and deeply affected by the crosscurrents of general European history. Rothfels explored, therefore, not only the international position of Germany between Britain and Russia but also the specific answers that Germany found to the problems raised by European liberalism, socialism, and nationalism.

The articles contained in the volume naturally have only a loose unity with regard to both subject matter and method of treatment. Some of the studies are well outside Rothfels' own field of research, while others take a more critical view of Bismarck's state than Rothfels has shown. The *Festschrift* reflects, however, the strong influence that his teaching and writings have had on students of German history. It can also be said that the contributions, though not all of equal weight, display an impressive level of workmanship.

The volume consists of five sections. Among the three articles which form the first one, dedicated to Bismarck's empire, Gerhard Ritter's study of the relationship of statecraft and military leadership stands out. It is his thesis that the second empire never did achieve a fully integrated command over all military forces of Germany and, even less, the subordination of the military commanders under the leading statesmen. Ritter sees in this structural weakness one of the main reasons for the German collapse in World War I. William O. Aydelotte presents a well-balanced appraisal of the motives of Bismarck's colonial policy, Theodor Schieder a review of Bismarck's thought on Europe as a political concept. In the section on Germany and England Wilhelm Treue deals with the reception of Adam Smith in Germany between 1776 and 1810, providing in addition interesting sidelights on the political administration of the German universities of the period. Percy E. Schramm has collected many illustrations of British attitudes toward German culture in the last third of the nineteenth century without, however, going more deeply into a historical interpretation.

In the section devoted to eastern Europe Walther Hubatsch tries to prove the direct and lasting influence of the Teutonic Order upon the Prussian state, a thesis which the reviewer finds difficult to accept. Werner Conze, in a suggestive article "National State or *Mitteleuropa*" discusses the conflicts of national and federative ideas in the eastern European, and particularly Polish, policies of Ger-

many during World War I. A fourth section on Russia and Europe has an article by Werner Markert on Russia and the Western world, a thoughtful investigation of the dialectics of European and national Russian ideas since Peter the Great. The first political move in joining Russia to the European system is studied by Reinhard Wittram in an article on Peter and Livonia, while Waldemar Gurian in a penetrating and clear analysis treats Lenin's methods in the conquest of power in 1917, which today constitute the canonic principles of Soviet policy.

The final section is composed of various studies on historiographical subjects. Matthijs Jolles' contribution, in the opinion of the reviewer the most accomplished and original one, demonstrates how Wilhelm Dilthey's philosophy of art may be placed firmly within the wider outlines of the German thinker's philosophy of life or history. Arnold Bergstraesser probes into the religious motives of German thought about universal history. Friedrich Baethgen uses a medievalist's method to illustrate the gains that could be derived from a textual criticism of Ranke's work for a biography of Ranke. Walter Bussmann sketches the change in European appraisals of Frederick the Great during the last century and a half.

Friedrich Meinecke has written a few pages of personal appreciation as introduction to this symposium, which is a well-deserved and valuable tribute to Hans Rothfels.

Yale University

Hajo HOLBORN

GEIST UND GESCHICHTE VOM DEUTSCHEN HUMANISMUS BIS ZUR GEGENWART. By *Heinrich Ritter von Srbik*. Volume II. (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann; Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1951. Pp. xi, 421.)

HEINRICH von Srbik's first volume on German historiography was centered on Leopold von Ranke (see *A.H.R.*, October, 1951, p. 151); in the second, Ranke becomes the standard against which other writers are measured. In addition, the personality of Srbik himself now comes to the fore more clearly than was the case in the earlier volume.

The volume under review opens with a discussion of the *dei minores* of historical writing; the second and third chapters, dealing with Catholic and Austrian historiography, analyze historians many of whom have not before been discussed in historiographical works; thus, these sections are indispensable if only for their wealth of material. A similar richness is characteristic of the whole volume. As in the first volume, Srbik here too provides fine examples of his art of historical presentation in the pages delineating the background against which historical writing developed and discussing the common problems that formed the basis for it. While doing justice to the point of view of such historians as Janssen and Pastor and correctly evaluating the importance of their contributions, he also points out the deficiencies in historical method which prevented the work of these Catholic historians from achieving complete success. The problem of Doellinger, who so

far has not found a biographer equipped to deal with him adequately, is in the eyes of this reviewer more complicated than Srbik presents it.

Occasional *lacunae* in the bibliography do not detract from the overpowering evidence of wide reading which is again apparent in this volume. These bibliographical omissions represent chiefly non-German literature, which of course was not fully available to Srbik in the years when he was composing his monumental work. Probably Comte's historical thought would have received a less harmless presentation had the works of Gouhier and de Lubac been consulted.

Srbik sees the climax of post-Ranke historical writing in Germany in the triad composed of Dilthey, Troeltsch, and Meinecke, of whom the last mentioned has made remarkable contributions even in most recent years. The choice of these three is a credo in itself: it professes a shift to intellectual history (of these three Meinecke alone was professionally trained as a historian); it professes a preference for a type of historiography centering on the individual rather than on the formulation of historical laws—when Srbik refers to history as “the least precise of all moral sciences” (“*die unexakteste aller Geisteswissenschaften*” [p. 239]), the statement in his eyes holds no censure—and finally this credo implies that the author, who himself has published valuable studies in social and economic history, did not consider those fields to be fundamental to German historical writing. It is characteristic of Srbik's personality—and probably of the Austrian character in general—that he is at his best when he is in sympathy with the object of his study (because of this trait his *Metternich* is superior to the writings of the Treitschke epigoni); the sections devoted to the triad just mentioned are therefore certainly among the most interesting in the volume.

Yet when Srbik deals with historians who are less to his liking an honest attempt to come to a full understanding is recognizable and a serene lucidity of presentation characterizes most of the work. Among these less sympathetic historians are, for example, Sombart, Spengler, and the positivists Lamprecht and Breysig. (Spengler, however, had some fascination for Srbik: compare the exposition and evaluation of *The Decline of the West*, that “*geniale Wirrnis*,” in *Geist und Geschichte* [II, 324 ff.] with the verdict pronounced on it in Collingwood's *Idea of History* [pp. 181 ff.].) To this reviewer it seems that the author failed to do full justice either to the historical thought of Nietzsche or to this philosopher's influence on historical writing, and the same may hold true concerning the positive aspects of the historical writing of the Stefan George circle: in these cases the differences in the basic approach probably were too large to be bridged by a full “understanding.” Nor is the last word on the historiographical importance of Max Weber to be found in the pages devoted to him.

Srbik has written a warm and fine characterization of Jacob Burckhardt, but the historical attitude taken by the historian of Basel is not pervasive throughout the work as is that of Ranke or of the North German triad; this may be due to the fact that Burckhardt, that “enemy of Bismarck,” actually came to exercise influence on German historical writing only many decades after his death:

Meinecke turned to him twelve years after the publication of his *Historismus*!

This reviewer considers Srbik's explicit repudiation of racial and National Socialist historiography of less significance than that such an attitude is in full harmony with and comes as if by necessity from the author's historical principles as illustrated throughout this work. Regardless of whether the reader is fully won over to "*gesamtdeutsche*" views, Srbik rightly insists on the difference which separates "*gesamtdeutsche*" historiography from racial determinism.

Any work on historiography which takes the biographical approach must be heavily burdened by a discussion of the products of second- and third-rate historians. Reading such pages one may question at times whether the work under review is actually a masterwork; whatever conclusion one may reach, however, there can be no doubt that every page affords full evidence of the work of a master and that the attitude Srbik has taken in this, his last work, is proof that he, like Burckhardt before him, had "turned toward the realm of ideas and away from mere ideology" ("*hingegen den Ideen, abgewandt der Ideologie*" [p. 169]).

Catholic University of America

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

GERMAN-SOVIET RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS, 1919-1939. By *Edward Hallett Carr*, formerly Woodrow Wilson Professor of International Politics, University of Wales. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 146. \$3.00.)

IN these lectures Mr. E. H. Carr has made no startling addition to existing knowledge of German-Soviet relations in the interwar period; but it is doubtful whether anyone can do that until the Stresemann papers and other collections of captured documents now in British and American possession are made available to independent scholars. What Mr. Carr has succeeded in doing is to survey his subject with imagination and insight and to write of it with literary skill.

Early in his volume, the author points out that the decisive factor in determining Germany's postwar relations with Russia was not—as was expected in 1919—the German Communist party, but rather the alliance between the General Staff and German business which had been left shaken, but essentially unimpaired, by the war (p. 10). The businessmen turned very quickly to the east, for, with German access to western European and other markets drastically curtailed, the Russian market assumed primary importance. The soldiers—once the failure of the Kapp *putsch* had discredited those who dreamed of recovery by means of a war against Bolshevism—did the same; and the negotiations which led to the establishment of German munitions plants and aviation firms on Russian soil seem to have begun as early as the winter of 1920-21. These first approaches were encouraged in Moscow and, as it became increasingly clear that a German revolution was at best a remote possibility, the Soviet leaders became eager to crown

the military and economic negotiations with a political understanding. The result was the Rapallo treaty of 1922.

Rapallo, Mr. Carr says, "enhanced the status and prestige of both parties and staked out the claim of both to be restored to the select company of great Powers" (p. 67). It was confirmed by the failure of the Communist rising in Germany in 1923, an event which led to a definitive abandonment in Moscow of "the mirage of the German revolution." "Never again," says Mr. Carr, "were the expectations of an early revolution in Germany allowed to override the normal considerations of foreign policy" (p. 76). On the German side, the tie with Moscow made possible the policy of balance between east and west which Stresemann pursued with such skill and with such advantage to Germany.

When Hitler came to power, the Rapallo policy was reversed, to the bitter dismay of General von Seeckt, who, in 1932, had predicted that "if Germany ignored Russia, she would one day have Poland on the Oder" (p. 104). Hitler's decision to make this change, the author writes, "is the most puzzling and controversial in the story of German-Soviet relations"; and he suggests that "the shifting balance of opinion in industrial and business circles may have been a contributory factor to the change" (p. 111). It was a change the effects of which could not be remedied by the short-lived pact of 1939, and, in the end, the warnings of men like Seeckt were amply justified. The fact remains, however, that the Hitler policy seems in retrospect to be an aberration, and Mr. Carr seems to feel that a new German government with the means to conduct an independent foreign policy might not be reluctant to return to the policy of Bismarck and Weimar.

Princeton University

GORDON A. CRAIG

GERMANY AND AMERICAN NEUTRALITY, 1939-1941. By *H. L. Trefousse*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1951. Pp. 247. \$3.75.)

THE impending Russian collapse must have loomed in imperial German planning by early 1917. To win the war Germany had only to avoid incurring a new first-class enemy. Yet Tirpitz was permitted unrestricted submarine warfare, the United States was in, and by July, 1918, plainly the jig was up.

With this disaster so recent one could expect the German leaders of 1941 to be more circumspect; and during two years they exercised conspicuous restraint. Then the Japanese ally fell on Pearl Harbor without prior specific intimation. Prudence was jettisoned and war declared on the United States forthwith. When an American interrogator explained to Göring in July, 1945, how hesitant public opinion in the United States might have been before a declaration of war upon Germany, Göring exclaimed that if he thought that really so he would kill himself—which a few months later in the shadow of the gallows he did.

Under a drab title Dr. Trefousse presents us with a workmanlike inquiry into this intriguing paragraph of history. As an intelligence officer he gained useful personal impressions. He has worked the published, and some unpublished,

sources thoroughly, including the records of the postwar trials and the Roosevelt papers. *The Challenge to Isolation*, by Langer and Gleason, now amplifies the American side; and since Dr. Trefousse wrote, texts of the State Department's 1945 interrogations of German diplomatic and military personnel have been placed in the National Archives and made available to scholars. The story as told by Dr. Trefousse retains its essential validity.

In an opening chapter Dr. Trefousse discusses Hitler's ultimate aims. There might have been more searching into what Hitler himself from time to time had consciously in mind. The conflicts with the United States bound to ensue from the general nature of the Hitler movement are patent and hardly call for the wordage accorded them.

Similarly the concluding chapter might have been less taken up with Franklin Roosevelt and his policies, about which we have been offered a great deal, and more given to the promptings which pushed Hitler to the precipitous and fatal declaration of war upon the United States on December 9. Three motives are apparent: (1) loyalty to the ally, Japan, to whom some last-minute promises were made, and the continuing hope that Japan might fall on Russia's rear; (2) underestimation of the American war potential; (3) the motive of prestige. Dr. Trefousse deals with the first point fully and interestingly. On number 2 more could be said about reports from the German embassy in Washington of a sort to comfort prospective readers in Berlin rather than convey the truth and Berlin's unreadiness to believe in any case—Byzantinism in short, the fatal corruptor of dictatorship. The motive of prestige, which was that most often mooted by the Germans, at least in 1945, and that which has been mentioned by Paul Schmidt (*Hitler's Interpreter*, p. 237), Dr. Trefousse brings in only by a footnote reference to Ribbentrop's boast that "a great power does not let others declare war on it, it declares war itself."

Princeton, N.J.

DEWITT C. POOLE

HITLER'S TISCHGESPRÄCHE IM FÜHRERHAUPTQUARTIER, 1941-42.

By Henry Picker. [Im Auftrage des Deutschen Instituts für Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Zeit geordnet, eingeleitet und veröffentlicht von Gerhard Ritter.] (Bonn: Athenäum Verlag. 1951. Pp. 463. DM 19.80.)

ADOLF Hitler is constantly becoming more *aktenkundig*, more knowable from documents. Since he hated writing and brought little to paper by his own hand, not much beyond an attempted political testament which he once forced himself to write (p. 210), this documentation will of necessity be nonautographic, furnished by others, notably in the form of earwitness reports. His published harangues to and discussions with generals and admirals are now followed by his table talk of 1941-42, this English term characterizing his utterances far better than the German *Gespräch*, which implies a co-partnership of which Hitler would concede but little at any time. This talk, on a moral and intellectual level which marks a devastating deterioration from Luther's *Tischreden* and Selden's *Table-*

Talk, deals with a large variety of subjects, ideas, measures, persons, among whom none is more admirable than Stalin—a genius, not least for the reason that he was keeping the Jews out of the arts and other fields, as he told even Ribbentrop (pp. 71, 113, 119, 385). These opinions were taken down by a civil servant at the order of Bormann, head of the party chancellery, and with the knowledge of the Führer, who, when looking over the notes, repeatedly acknowledged “the pithy reproduction of his flight of thoughts” (p. 33). They are not stenographic notes but memorandums written postprandially. This puts them in point of *Zeitnähe* and also of truthfulness, somewhere between the shorthand transcripts, translated into English and edited by F. Gilbert, but not yet published in German, which have suffered something of a softening in the translation, as is apparent to anyone who has seen fragments of the original, and Rauschning’s *Gespräche mit Hitler*, the most literary reproduction of the leader’s thoughts but also a piece of intellectual over-refinement.

Such grading raises once again the question of the true reproduction of Hitler’s utterances, recalling to the reviewer the time when, as a history student in Munich in the early 1920’s, he went together with friends to NSDAP meetings and afterwards tried to agree with them on what the speaker of the evening had actually said: there was never, within an hour after the meeting’s close, any firm agreement as to the content of the speeches, though all of us were trained to observe and note down historical facts. Neither the victims nor the observers of the Pied Piper seemed able to reproduce the words to the tune they carried away in their ears, though not a few of them might notice the palpable errors and intentional falsehoods in the oratory. These errors are here again, not only numerous factual mistakes, as Professor Ritter warns the reader, but many which seem calculated to impress an audience by their false conciseness. (On one page an overpaid actor’s salary is given as 3-4000 marks per month, on another the same man’s earnings are 3-4000 marks per evening [pp. 35, 386]; “75 per cent of the German emigrants to Australia died en route” [p. 310]; “Venice’s constitution lasted exactly 966 years” [p. 204]. One wonders why not 1100 years, from the first doge to the end of independence in 1797.)

This table-talk book is the first publication undertaken by the Munich Institute for the History of the National Socialist Era—a second has already appeared (Hermann Foertsch, *Schuld und Verhängnis: Die Fritsch-Krise im Frühjahr, 1938*, Stuttgart, 1951). This circumstance and its purely documentary character, without point-for-point refutation of the statements, has raised some misgivings among German democrats, if not also among the occupation authorities, both of whom seem inclined to consider the table talk as Hitler’s political testament—in spoken form, as was to be expected from a demagogue—feeding a seeming Nazi renaissance, a coincidence which incidentally has not made the book a best-seller like *Mein Kampf*. The justification for the publication at this time or at any time as provided in a preface by Gerhard Ritter, a determined opponent of Nazism in its day, should allay these doubts. Documentation, even of the most hateful terrorism

and coxcomb demagoguery, carries its own ethos of which the historian is still the custodian.

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

THE SAAR: BATTLEGROUND AND PAWN. By *Frank M. Russell*. [Stanford Books in World Politics.] (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 131. \$5.00.)

WITH the Saar again in the headlines it is useful to have the story of the international administration of the Saar Territory by the League of Nations, from 1920 to 1935, told once more and in such a lucid and impartial manner. Still more useful is it to have at hand a careful and well-documented study of the present regime, established by the French after the Second World War.

The record of the Governing Commission of the League which emerges from the author's account is on the whole very creditable. As he points out, the German condemnation of it was inevitable, for under the Treaty of Versailles the Governing Commission possessed "all the powers of government hitherto belonging to the German Empire, Prussia and Bavaria" during the fifteen years before the plebiscite which was to settle the question whether the Saar should go to France, return to Germany, or remain under the League regime. No matter how greatly to the advantage of the Saarlanders or how justified under the treaty, every move by the Governing Commission was taken by the Germans, in Germany and in the Saar, as a political threat to their ultimate victory at the polls and they protested bitterly at Geneva. As all the Saar trade unions, chambers of commerce, and other organizations were branches of national ones with headquarters in Berlin, and all, as well as the Saar newspapers, were subsidized from Germany, the record could not have a fair evaluation from the German side. The author notes that as soon as Germany took her seat at the League Council her protests ceased but the bitterness in the German world remained. The author does not discuss the plebiscite but accepts it as conclusive, as it was. In spite of Hitler the Saarlanders voted by over 90 per cent for immediate return to Germany. So ended what, in 1950, Saarlanders who had voted for the Reich in 1935, called to this reviewer "the happiest time the Saar ever had."

Now again the Saar is in a customs union with France, and France owns the mines. The territory is not again under an international administration, however, nor has France annexed it. By the constitution adopted by the Saar Landtag in 1947, by 48 votes to one, the one being Communist, the Saar is to remain forever autonomous, with its own legislature and premier, but with a French high commissioner, resident in Saarbrücken, who is to use his power of control in such a way as to protect the Saar's independence from Germany, the customs and monetary union with France and respect for the constitution which, among other matters, specifies the human rights which are re-established "after the rooting out of a system which dishonored and enslaved the human being." Since the book

was written the title of the high commissioner has been changed to ambassador and his check on Saar affairs has become less obvious, thus enhancing the autonomy of the Saar, with consequent annoyance in Germany.

French influence and direction are obvious in the territory but the author notes positive indications that the political leaders and chief party organizations support the French program and are prepared at present to work with the French on the main points. The words "at present" are important. Like other observers he has his doubts as to whether the present arrangement will last once Germany has revived.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

SARAH WAMBAUGH

STORIA DELLA POLITICA ESTERA ITALIANA DAL 1870 AL 1896. Volume I, LE PREMESSE. By *Federico Chabod*. (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli for Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale. 1951. Pp. xvi, 712. L. 5500.)

THIS is, as A. William Salomone recently wrote Dr. Ford, "a truly brilliant volume." The plan was developed after 1936 by the Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale for a new comprehensive series on Italian foreign policy and Chabod was assigned the period 1870-1896. This volume embodies more than six years of work in the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs at Rome, some exploitation of archival material at Vienna and Paris, and an astonishingly wide reading in Italian, French, German, and English materials on all aspects of Italian and European history which relate to Italian foreign policy. The footnotes include a great deal more than mere references, and, properly placed in the lower part of the pages, they offer much in elaboration of the text.

This volume is about Italian foreign policy but it is not diplomatic history. It is prolegomena. The author's problem is the premises of Italian foreign policy in the 26-year period following the completion of Italian unity. The diplomatic history, the analysis in chronological fashion of the concrete actions of ministers and ambassadors, will, we are assured, follow in subsequent volumes of the series. In the era following World War I Italy alone among the European powers issued no great set of its foreign office documents. The projected official series to cover the whole period 1861-1943 together with the volumes planned by the Istituto will, if the quality of scholarship continues on the plane of Chabod's volume, enable Italy to do more than catch up.

Chabod's present volume is in two parts: (1) the "passions" and the ideas; (2) the things (*cose*) and the men. The last section embraces sketches of the characters and ideas of the men who in the period formally directed Italian policy: Visconti Venosta, Nigra, de Launay, di Robilant, Lanza, Minghetti, and Victor Emmanuel II. Under "things" are included such factors as the political apathy of the masses, the alternatives of grand policy or tranquillity, as well as the more tangible matters of public finance and the army. Chabod writes human history when he stresses (p. 91) the bitter torment in the minds of Frenchmen of the

defeats of Metz and Sedan, like the memories in Italy of Custoza and Lissa, or when he reminds us (p. 501) how the financial problem remained the central preoccupation of the men in the government of united Italy. In the category of passions and ideas he discusses the aftermath in Italy of the Franco-Prussian war, the "idea" of Rome, haunted as it was by the shades of Caesar and of St. Peter. The dominant ideas of the Risorgimento, as they passed to the new era, are nicely delineated.

The work illustrates in detail the views set forth in the preface. Diplomatic history is not a tight compartment, separate and distinct from the whole historical process. The foreign policy of a state is indissolubly bound up with the moral, economic, social, and religious life of the people. Diplomatic history, like any other, is human history. Whatever systems, forces, or structures can be discerned are abstractions which acquire historical value only when they animate or inspire living men. "The permanent interests are a pure, doctrinaire abstraction: the history of no country has ever offered examples of such fixed and immutable interests . . ." (p. ix). Whatever is valid in geopolitics is delineation of geographical facts long well recognized. Diplomatic history is human history and it is not deterministic.

Washington, D.C.

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH

A HISTORY OF LATVIA. By *Alfred Bilmanis*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 441. \$6.00.)

HISTORY OF LATVIA: AN OUTLINE. By *Arnolds Spekke*, Formerly Professor, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and Vice-President of the University of Latvia, and Latvian Minister to Italy. (Stockholm: M. Goppers. 1951. Pp. xx, 436. Paper kr. 37,50, cloth kr. 45,00.)

THE Latvians are an old race, but Latvia was one of the youngest of European countries; its independent existence began in November, 1918, and ended in Russian occupation, June, 1940. We have had in English little on its history; now, suddenly, we have much. Two Latvian diplomats, one a journalist and statesman, the second a scholar and teacher, have written of a land that was and is not, and of a people that were and are and again may be.

In the Bilmanis volume all the early history of the Latvian tribes, the German domination, the struggle between Sweden and Poland, occupy less than half the book. Much is there, much is omitted, but it is a marvel of condensation. The tone is calm, restrained, and the patriotism of the author is overlaid by the statesman's feeling that he must be internationally minded. In the latter half of the work, the Russian period and the winning of independence have one thing in common, the detailed treatment of the part played by the "Baltic Barons" and by the Germanic intrigues that accompanied the *Drang nach Osten*. The "day in the sun" draws only twice as much space as is given to Latvia since 1940, and

in every line of the latter one can feel that the author was anxious not to prejudice English and American opinion by saying too much of a Russia that was still an ally and a colleague in the United Nations and of a Germany that might soon share that role.

There are no pictures, save one of the author; and the three maps, clear and simple, include but one for the last two centuries. It shows no roads, no railroads, no local divisions, no economic data. The paper is good, the type excellent, the binding strong, the proofreading careful, the editorial work of high quality. One reads and is satisfied.

The Spekke volume is the product of strict economy; paper-bound and printed on large pages of yellowish tint, but with 111 photographs on 60 plates; with ornamentations, chapter headings, inserts, and foot-pieces illustrating Latvian art and culture; equipped with 24 maps (only four dealing with modern Latvia) and 72 illustrations, a list of Latvian and German names of rivers and places, eight pages of references, a six-page index and an eight-page bibliography. The type and ink are good, the translations adequate, the proofreading excellent, with a list of errata. Yet all this is but the outer shell.

Spekke paints the picture of the early Baltic tribes, what we know of them and how we know it, what they lost as aggressors pressed in upon them from every side, and what they kept. Viking and Slav precede the Germans, who moved in through Riga in the twelfth century. Three hundred years of battle, murder, rapine, and slavery followed for the Latvians before the "modern period" began.

The breakup of the control exercised by the Teutonic Knights initiated what the exploiters called the "Time of Troubles." After 1500, Russian devastations, Polish occupation, and Swedish conquest were for the Latvian serfs added to the oppression and exactions of their German lords. Religious strife and economic decline touched them in turn. Yet for these serfs, all this meant only that the form of their pains and terrors changed, not the content. After 1600 an improvement set in. In Kurland the exactions were heavy but not crushing; in Swedish Livonia the Vasas treated the common folk as human beings, not as beasts who made intelligible sounds.

Under Peter the Great and Catherine the Russians moved in, and the bad that had become better turned again toward the worst. The Latvians existed only for the tsar and for the Baltic barons, who under him ruled as they pleased. In their pleasure there was no thought for the "natives." Yet from the days of the French Revolution there revived slowly the ideas of the old Latvian culture and beside them grew a new Latvian consciousness. It survived "Russification," German conquest in World War I, revolution and civil war, and ended in liberation.

Spekke makes "free Latvia" live again, and one realizes how true is the Baltic proverb: "Long sorrow makes haste and brief joy is ever late." Twenty years only, and the achievement in them brought a measure of prosperity and progress. Ten years of travail followed before Spekke laid down his pen. First the Soviet occupation, then German conquest and decimation, then again the Red hordes. In

flaming words the scholar in exile tells of what his people have endured at the hands of Teuton and Slav, and yet are enduring, almost without hope and entirely without fear. Edmund Burke once said that he knew no way in which one could indict an entire people; in the account of the German first conquest of Latvia (chaps. vi-vii) and in chapter xviii on Soviet rule Spekke resolves Burke's dilemma. The three chapters drove the reviewer to reread the closing passages of Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address. *Sunt lacrimae rerum*. Yet the author hopes that Latvia will live again, for to a people that have endured so much through so many centuries, this new oppression is but an accident, an incident in the history of a people who feel that some day when rogues fall out, honest men shall come into their own.

University of Southern California

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

Far Eastern History

THE STAKES OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By *H. J. van Mook*, Former Lieutenant Governor-General of Indonesia. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1950. Pp. 312. \$3.75.)

THE NEW WORLD OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. By *Lennox A. Mills* and Associates. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 445. \$5.00.)

THESE two books are a valuable contribution to the limited literature on Southeast Asia, a part of the world so little known to the average American citizen but so increasingly important in world politics. H. J. van Mook writes from the first-hand experience of his service as former lieutenant governor-general of Indonesia during a critical period. *The Stakes of Democracy in Southeast Asia* considers in three parts the "foundations" of the area, "war and revolution" (from the beginning of the Japanese invasion), and "the future." Attention is given to the forces generated by imperialism, nationalism, communism, and regionalism. The author's approach in analyzing the problems of the region is both political and economic.

After placing an important part of the ills that now visit Southeast Asia upon the Japanese, van Mook develops his views on how the Western powers following the end of Japan's New Order failed to measure up to the basic requirements the situation demanded. He notes in particular the lack of Allied co-operation, the arbitrary policy adopted by the United Nations in Indonesia, and the unrealistic attitude of some of the Western powers toward nationalism in the newly liberated areas. Although the author discusses all the countries of Southeast Asia (including Ceylon) his comments on Indonesia are the most detailed and perhaps the most controversial. Especially interesting is his opinion of the leaders of the Republic of Indonesia and of their activities in foreign affairs. At the same time van Mook has not written a book that will gratify the old guard of the Dutch colonial empire. He realized the old order was changing in the Netherlands East

Indies but he believed that the new order should come gradually and not precipitately. The author significantly writes in his conclusion that "the time when we could command them [the people of Southeast Asia] to be free is past. But that does not mean that the time has come when we may tell them to take their cares elsewhere and be done with them. For we can still make up as friends for what we left undone as rulers."

The New World of Southeast Asia is a symposium by Lennox A. Mills and associates for university students and the general public on the countries of the area and on a number of topics related to it. Claude A. Buss writes on the Philippines, Amry Vandenbosch on Indonesia, John F. Cady on Burma, Lennox A. Mills on Malaya, Charles A. Micaud on Indochina, and Kenneth P. Landon on Thailand. The topical chapters deal with the Chinese in Southeast Asia, problems in self-government, economic considerations, and the international relations of the area. In so far as possible the authors have maintained objectivity although personal judgments are occasionally injected. The chapter presenting the best country survey in the opinion of the reviewer is that on the Philippines. Buss has succeeded within a limited space in tracing the development and analyzing the problems of that country. Victor Purcell's chapter on the Chinese in Southeast Asia is brief but penetrating. No book on the region would be complete without reference to the Chinese.

In general *The New World of Southeast Asia* reflects careful organization and editorship. The chapters quite naturally are not equal in merit, for no symposium has ever reached that state of perfection. Many of the authors include a list of suggested readings, some far more comprehensive than others. Events are moving so fast in Southeast Asia that the book will have to be frequently revised if it is to "stress," as stated in the preface, "the present political and economic situation, set against the background of the prewar position and the effects of the Japanese conquest."

University of Michigan

RUSSELL H. FIFIELD

THE AUSTRALIAN FRONTIER IN NEW GUINEA, 1870-1885. By *Donald Craigie Gordon*, Department of History, University of Maryland. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 562.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 301. \$4.25.)

IN April, 1883, the premier of the then colony of Queensland, a Scot credited with possessing "all the vulgar forces of the Glasgow School," took formal possession of New Guinea in the name of Queen Victoria. In this way he forced the hand of Lord Derby, the British colonial secretary, who did not favor any further expansion of the empire and declined to credit the Australian suspicion that annexation of the island by Germany was imminent. A year later, still with extreme reluctance, the British government proclaimed a protectorate over that portion of the island not claimed by the Dutch and the Germans.

Dr. Gordon's book gives a well-rounded account of the most important circumstances surrounding this episode. The study was made in America during the war years and, as the author points out, he was thus unable to draw upon some of the most important primary sources. Australian reviewers seem to feel that this seriously qualifies the value of the work, but it is nevertheless a competent and valuable contribution to Pacific scholarship. It will certainly help to fill a decided gap, on which Australian historians have no reason to congratulate themselves, in Australian historical studies.

The book gives a compact and well-written account of the main facts of discovery, settlement, and mission enterprise in New Guinea and its associated islands. The best chapters are those dealing with the dawning consciousness among Australians that theirs was to be a major role in the Pacific, with the complex motives behind the agitation for annexation and with the protracted negotiations leading to the establishment of the protectorate.

The under-documentation is, perhaps, less of a handicap than it might have been had the author approached his task within a different frame of reference. The seizure of Papua gave Australians their first sharp focus on the Pacific. They were not again to see it as clearly until 1941. Dr. Gordon would, perhaps, have done better to relate his study more sharply to this theme or, alternatively, to the obtuse failure of the English Liberals to grasp the course of events.

The author is, however, a historian of causes. His approach is thus influenced by the way in which the "effect" is conceptualized. He treats the annexation of Papua more as a significant incident in the "revival of imperialism," a very debatable judgment, than as the first external act of a nascent Australian nationalism. If the episode is compared with, say, the annexation of the Transvaal or the Free State, or with the conquest of the Sudan, it seems of small account in the scale of Kipling's England, whereas (and Dr. Gordon makes some interesting remarks on the fact) it was of decided importance in the growth of Australian federation. History might well have taken another course had it not been for the capacity for joint action shown by the Australian colonies. A whimsical Aristotelian might even suggest to a historian of causes that the New Guinea episode was the formal cause of Australian federation, for the two matters became intimately interconnected almost at once.

If anything of the nature of British imperialism is revealed in this study, it fits in better with the thesis of the reluctant dragon than with Dr. Gordon's opening sentence: "great empires have come into being because men in positions of influence have seen gains to be won by policies of imperial expansion" (p. 13). Lord Carnarvon, the colonial secretary of 1874-78, was more accurate, and prophetic of events in Papua, when he wrote, "... the whole history of our Colonies showed that they had been originally acquired by the voluntary and spontaneous action of Captains, Government officers, travellers and commercial adventurers, necessarily without the knowledge of the British Government, by whom they were afterwards accepted and taken over. . . ." Dr. Gordon, however, manages to

write of imperialism without raising his tone, and his language and judgment are scholarly. His book can be read with interest and profit.

Australian National University, Canberra

W. E. H. STANNER

American History

JAMES PARTON: THE FATHER OF MODERN BIOGRAPHY. By *Milton E. Flower*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1951. Pp. ix, 253. \$4.50.)

THIS is a biography about a biographer: a case of the biter being bit. James Parton, who wrote lives of great Americans and one European—Voltaire—has become something of a legend in American historiography. Almost everyone has heard of him, though few read him today except researchers. Yet some of his volumes can still be read with profit and enjoyment, and his *Aaron Burr* has been called “a minor classic” in American biography.

If Dr. Flower, in this first published study of Parton, has yielded to the easy temptation of hyperbole in hailing him as “the father of modern biography,” it is true that Parton rescued his subjects from the doldrums of the “standard life” and the biographical kiss of death of the filiopietists. He brought his great men down from their pedestals and gave them a touch of the low earth. In the main he was fair in his treatment, giving even Aaron Burr an understanding portrait which Burr’s own friend and political disciple, Matthew L. Davis, had failed to accomplish.

Parton was also that *rara avis*—a scholarly researcher who could write in an easy, flowing style and intersperse the aridities of political controversy with the sprightly, revealing anecdote. Yet he took great pains to obtain documentation for his material and traveled great distances to interview surviving eyewitnesses of the lives and times of which he wrote.

Sparkling biographies of Franklin, Jefferson, Burr, Jackson, Horace Greeley, the controversial General Benjamin F. Butler and other worthies rolled in rapid succession from his facile pen. If some of the contemporary historians looked askance at his easy style (the tradition dies hard that scholarship must be dull), the general public rewarded the author with eager perusals and gratifyingly large sales. He became famous and the first American biographer to make a comfortable living from his books.

Dr. Flower has done a thorough job of research in a comparatively virgin field. He has had access to the family manuscripts, and has supplemented them from all available sources. He has portrayed not merely the biographer, but the man—and Parton’s other activities ranged over an amazingly wide area. Parton was something of a radical and a freethinker, and threw himself enthusiastically into the political, religious, moral, and social controversies of the day. He dabbled in temperance and free thought (he was also fascinated by Catholic ritual and

dogma), fought for civil service reform, the rights of women, an international copyright, and wrote trenchant muckraking articles denouncing corruption in government (a perennial subject).

But above all he was married to the much older "Fanny Fern," an amazing woman in her own right and the forerunner of a horde of lady columnists. Though Dr. Flower does not blink the fact that the marriage was a tempestuous one, he oddly fails to give that fact sufficient body and substance, or bring the relationship to life.

All in all, this is a faithful and meritorious biography, and throws considerable light on an interesting, if minor, figure in nineteenth-century America. One carping note, however. Dr. Flower could advantageously have used some of that ease and fluidity which he justly admires in the pages of his subject.

New York, N.Y.

NATHAN SCHACHNER

BEHOLD VIRGINIA: THE FIFTH CROWN. BEING THE TRIALS, ADVENTURES, AND DISASTERS OF THE FIRST FAMILIES OF VIRGINIA, THE RISE OF THE GRANDEES, AND THE EVENTUAL TRIUMPH OF THE COMMON AND UNCOMMON SORT IN THE REVOLUTION. By *George F. Willison*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1951. Pp. xii, 422. \$4.75.)

LIKE his *Saints and Strangers*, which dealt with the settlement of Plymouth Colony, Mr. Willison's book on Virginia is a brisk and iconoclastic narrative which sets out to debunk romantic notions about Virginia's early history. His account is well written and readable and gains interest from the use of abundant quotations from contemporary reports. But as history Mr. Willison's book on Virginia is much less convincing than his account of Plymouth. It reads as if its author had a bad case of dyspepsia and thoroughly disliked everybody concerned in the settlement of Virginia. About the only person for whom he has a good word is Powhatan, the Indian chief. Of Englishmen who deserted to the Indians or were captured by him, he remarks: "They worked hard for Powhatan, perhaps because they enjoyed some freedom and intelligent direction under him" (p. 158), neither of which, he suggests, they had at Jamestown. "In every respect," Willison agains comments, "he [Powhatan] stood head and shoulders above any of the English who tried to match wits with him" (p. 167).

Many narratives of Virginia, it is true, have grossly romanticized the early history but Mr. Willison goes so far to the other extreme and finds so little good in any aspect of Virginia society that he himself is left wondering at the end of his book how that society could have produced the great leaders who came to the fore during the Revolution. "It seemed a most unlikely seed-bed for great leaders, revolutionary thinkers, and passionate democrats. Yet from this society there now came as brilliant a generation or two of leaders as any society or comparable area

ever produced" (p. 52). The answer is that Mr. Willison misinterprets the quality of Virginia society, early and late.

Most of the book deals with the misadventures of the first settlers. Out of 373 pages of text, the first 261 concern the efforts of the Virginia Company of London to establish the colony, an effort which ended in 1624 with the dissolution of the company. The next 74 pages principally concern the long governorship of Sir William Berkeley and Bacon's Rebellion, and the last 37 pages bring the account down to the Revolution. The most plausible portion of the book deals with Bacon's Rebellion, where Mr. Willison's temperament finds congenial material. He performs a useful service in demoting that episode from its accustomed position as a noble precursor of the struggle for independence to its proper place as a local row which got out of hand thanks to a hotheaded troublemaker on one side and a senile old fool on the other.

The well-worn argument over the qualities of leadership furnished by Captain John Smith is revived at great length in Mr. Willison's pages. He can find no good to say about Smith or his colleagues and successors. If they had all been as complete knaves, cravens, fools, and rogues as Mr. Willison describes them, it is surprising and perhaps a pity that they managed to found a colony where some of them would perpetuate themselves. Indeed, after reading his book, one wonders if Mr. Willison does not feel that Virginia was a grievous mistake. The author's impatience with the characters in his narrative and his apparent distaste for his subject carry over to the reader who will find little to entertain him in *Behold Virginia*.

Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON. By *Francis Rufus Bellamy*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1951. Pp. v, 409. \$5.00.)

TODAY, Tom Paine's famous phrase has been all but bereft of significance by too frequent repetition. To men like Washington, it was pregnant with meaning. And it applied not merely to certain moments of the Revolutionary War, but to the entire formative period of the United States. It called forth memories of the inner conflict and the violent wrench that preceded the momentous decision to take up arms against England; it pointed up the personal rivalries, factional struggles, and sectional animosities that dissipated the new national spirit and disrupted the war effort; it revived all the doubts, suspicions, and fears for the outcome of the struggle and the ultimate fate of the nation.

For Washington, particularly, "the times that try men's souls" ran in an unbroken and unending stream of torment until the day of his death. The affluent colonial who spoke and thought of England as "home," whose familial roots were deeply implanted in the "mother country," whose wealth rested on English grants of land, whose commercial and cultural ties were far more English than American, did not sever the umbilical cord without great pain. Nor was the operation less

soul-trying whereby the parish-minded planter was obliged to resolve the abstract concepts of sovereignty and loyalty, imperialism and revolution, federalism and democracy into their concrete component parts and to reconstruct them into a guide for personal conduct as rebel, commander in chief, and President.

In my opinion, a biography of Washington's "private life" must deal with these and similar experiences, revealing the factors, forces, and personalities that went into their making, depicting their effect on the development of his character, and interpreting the consequences of this development to the man and to the nation. On a lower level, it must consider Washington's personal and official relations with Hamilton and George Mason, Jefferson and Adams, Schuyler, Arnold, and Knox; it must also include detailed treatment of such private affairs as his voyage to the Western lands, his dealings with Captain Posey, Mrs. Savage, and Robert Stewart, and his difficulties with Martha's children and grandchildren.

Mr. Bellamy obviously does not share this opinion. He believes that a portrait of his subject is best drawn by augmenting the usual chronological account with full-length sketches of Washington's parents, with suggestive references to an inconsequential youthful romance, and with the thesis that Washington was a frustrated dictator. This explains the imbalance of the book: there are six chapters on Washington's origin and youth, seven on the Revolutionary War, and one on the fateful postwar years and the presidency.

The effort to create an imaginary romantic background and to uphold an untenable thesis leads inevitably to errors of fact and interpretation: e.g., Mr. Bellamy implies that Washington failed to get a royal commission (p. 132) because he was a colonial and lacked "ancient family and influence." Braddock offered him a captain's commission, "the highest Comn.," wrote Washington, "that is now vested in his gift." This was declined because the Virginia colonel wanted that rank confirmed by royal brevet. Similarly, Mr. Bellamy has Washington "desperately ill" with a psychosomatic quinzey (p. 246), because Congress voted down his recommendations. The conclusion that he "could not happily brook a master at all . . . that basically, in maturity as in youth, he was always a rebel against authority; a born benevolent dictator," would be questionable even if the facts were correct. Actually, Washington was "out of sorts," mentally and physically, for less than ten days; during this time he transacted all important business and was "much pestered with things that [could] not be avoided." Again, Mr. Bellamy mentions several times that Hamilton disliked Washington, basing this allegation on the brief quarrel between the general and his aide and on a letter written in the heat of that quarrel. This is slight evidence when weighed against twenty years of harmonious co-operation and intimate correspondence.

Altogether, it seems to me, Mr. Bellamy has written a "popular" rather than a "private" life of Washington, as informal in style as it is in the treatment of historical material.

Barnard College

JOHAN J. SMERTENKO

RAG, TAG AND BOBTAIL: THE STORY OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, 1775-1783. By *Lynn Montross*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1952. Pp. 519. \$5.00.)

MAN's revolutionary struggles, ancient and modern, whether American, Chinese, English, French, or Russian, find ever new authors and widening circles of readers. It will be so as long as man strives for freedom. Lynn Montross' new book, though on a theme of American history more familiar than any other to Young America, and perhaps to all of us, will doubtless enlarge the audience. One reason for this lies in the author's reliance upon numerous personal accounts—diaries, letters—many of which are unfamiliar, or slightly known, to general readers; even for specialists, some of them may have the charm of freshness. The theme is the army, from its appearance without fanfare at Lexington to its silent melting away in 1783. Amid the kaleidoscopic fortunes of campaigns and battles, numerous details of the soldier's life appear: the rags and tatters, hunger, heroism, feuding, literacy, mutiny, treason, fraternization, plundering, discipline, disease, godliness, devilry, atrocities on both sides, the Molly Pitchers who went along, tall tales of war propaganda, with glimpses, now and then, of the larger socio-political framework of the fight for freedom.

Despite its technical apparatus and a critical discussion of men and events which at times may be heavy for casual readers, the book is generally popular in nature. The pace is brisk; the style and language, easy and familiar, harmonize with the personal documents, many of which are quoted. Catchy captions challenge the reader's attention. These, though some are good, are at times overdone; they attract attention, but they do not hold it unless sufficiently pertinent to the subsequent matter. Some of the arresting titles better befit Hollywood than history. One thinks of Benchley's *Love Conquers All*—wherein Love vanishes after the title page. Mr. Montross' titles may not sit quite so lightly, but their relation to substance is at times tenuous, and the evidence of it long deferred. Thus, under "Sir Peter Parker's Breeches" one reads ten pages chiefly about events on the northern front, and after four more learns of sartorial disaster on the southern front. Organization and transitions, at times, lack integration and smoothness. For example, "The Liberation of Boston" devotes ten pages to the Canadian fiasco and other matters before reaching Boston. Similarly, pages 109-17 run far afield from "The Fight for New York," and New York is handled in the following four and a half pages. The "Fall of Philadelphia" gets three pages under that head, while fourteen pages follow about Ticonderoga, Bennington, feuds of generals, and other matters. "The Siege of Charleston" allots seven pages to Morristown, New Jersey (pp. 347-53), before turning southward for a slightly fuller account of Charleston.

The book will interest a large general audience; specialists will find it of value, and certain of its interpretations challenging. To satisfy professional requirements, there is a fifteen-page bibliography, three fifths of it contemporary materials. Twelve pages of footnotes, assembled unfortunately at the end of the volume,

show reliance on contemporary documents—the key to its excellence. The index covers personal and place names, and some topics, the latter less adequately. An appendix lists the generals of the Continental Army, with dates of appointment and service. Numerous maps (an excellent feature, showing positions and movements of opposing forces) and several panoramas (less useful, as they are assembled midway through the volume, and hence are not closely integrated with the text) enable the reader to visualize terrain and operations.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS WOODY

JOHN ADAMS AND THE PROPHETS OF PROGRESS. By Zoltán Haraszti.
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. viii, 362. \$5.00.)

ANY revelation of the mind of John Adams is bound to be interesting and important, for Adams was an independent thinker who had to be and still has to be reckoned with. Mr. Haraszti has provided a major revelation of Adams' mind, though in a novel form. His book is mainly a series of dialogues between the authors of certain volumes in Adams' library (now among the collections of the Boston Public Library, where Mr. Haraszti is keeper of rare books) and Adams himself. All his life Adams collected and read books, and his reading was vigorously creative. During intervals in his public life and after his retirement in 1801, he spent day after day in the upstairs study at Quincy filling up the margins and fly-leaves of his volumes of philosophy, history, and theology with comments. These might be brief or lengthy, but they are unfailingly lively, for Adams was master of a pungent style.

The truth is, as Mr. Haraszti has convincingly shown, that Adams' normal method of composition was that of a commentator. His formal writings like the *Defence of the Constitutions of the United States* and the *Discourses on Davila* are heavy and dull simply because he would not spare his readers the whole chapters of narrative and exposition that he had copied out to comment upon. But Mr. Haraszti's plan of presenting only brief and relevant passages from the texts, alternating with Adams' potshots and full-scale bombardments from the margins, leads to a very different result. Writing without thought of readers and intent only upon setting the erring authors straight, Adams is as earnest and unself-conscious as youngsters at a movie imploring the hero to ride faster or the heroine will be shot before he reaches the bandits' hideaway.

Adams annotated all kinds of books, but the present volume is mainly confined to his marginalia in books by the social philosophers of the eighteenth century—Bolingbroke, Rousseau, Frederick the Great and some of his friends, Mably, Turgot, Mary Wollstonecraft, Condorcet, and Priestley. Toward these "Prophets of Progress," some of whom laid the groundwork of the French Revolution and others of whom became apologists for it, Adams' feelings were thoroughly ambivalent. He denounced every article in their perfectibilitarian system and regarded such attempts as were made to put their principles into action during

the Revolution as perfectly chimerical. The reforms urged by Condorcet, said Adams, would result in a conspiracy of "genius" far more tyrannical than the old conspiracy of king, nobles, and clergy. Yet Adams respected the *philosophes*, some of whom he had known well, as men of first-rate intellectual powers and the highest benevolence, though "united with total ignorance and palpable darkness in the science of government."

What the *philosophes* overlooked was the cornerstone of Adams' own political theory. He never summed this up more tersely than in his copy of Mary Wollstonecraft's book on the French Revolution: "Men must search their own hearts and confess the emulation that is there: and provide checks to it. The gentlemen must be compelled to agree. They never will from reason and free will. . . . Power must be opposed to power, force to force, strength to strength, interest to interest, as well as reason to reason, eloquence to eloquence, and passion to passion."

There are a hundred interesting sidelights on John Adams' personality and career in this skillfully compiled and valuable book. Yet its chief value lies in its demonstration that Adams had not only seized upon a permanent political truth but knew how to defend it wittily and with almost infinite resourcefulness.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

L. H. BUTTERFIELD

THOMAS JEFFERSON: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Nathan Schachner*. In two volumes. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1951. Pp. xiii, 559; vii, 561-1070. \$12.00.)

AMONG the numerous works on Jefferson that have appeared within the past few years and that continue to appear, some of them running to several volumes, here is one that is within the compass of the general reading public. Julian Boyd's monumental edition of the writings of Jefferson is expected to total fifty or more volumes; Dumas Malone's biography will include five or six; and Marie Kimball's will probably equal that number. The present work, while containing a great deal of detail and not to be skimmed through in an evening, is nevertheless not overwhelming in bulk.

The author has already produced biographies of Burr and Hamilton, and now in his study of Hamilton's archrival he shows his ability to present both sides of a picture. There is something refreshing in his ability to point out Jefferson's weaknesses as well as his strong points. He does not follow some other biographers in picturing him as almost a demigod. Jefferson was only human, and at times he became "hot" or "angry" when problems nettled him. He was inconsistent in a number of his theories and policies, was frequently "impaled on the horns of a dilemma"—a favorite phrase of the author. His appreciation of art ran to the "third-rate," and he "diligently collected pictures to adorn eventually the walls of Monticello and chose, with unerring accuracy, the most mediocre and insipid" (I, 314). He was a pedagogue and a moralist, not in the best sense of these terms,

and gave his daughter Patsy the "sage advice" "of never buying any thing which you have not money in your pocket to pay for"—advice which he himself failed miserably to follow (I, 337).

Schachner devotes a great deal of attention to the unhappy story of Jefferson's personal finances—perhaps the weakest and saddest phase of his life. In his marriage he assumed certain debts of his father-in-law, and thus he was plunged into a morass of debt from which he never extricated himself. Always overestimating the income from his plantations, he never let up in his lavish spending. During his five years in France he lived on a scale far beyond his income, and even as President, with a salary of \$25,000 a year, he seems never to have balanced his budget. He could not resist extravagance, especially in the purchase of books, wines, and horses. Toward the very end of his life his friends persuaded the Virginia legislature to authorize a special lottery to help him, and, when that failed, the hat was passed in his behalf. But even then there was not enough, for his debts had reached the staggering total of more than \$107,000. It is not a pretty story.

But Jefferson's weaknesses are not unduly stressed, and his manifold top-level contributions to the American nation are fully covered. The Declaration of Independence, the Virginia statute for religious freedom, his services as United States representative in Paris, his accomplishments as first Secretary of State, his achievements as President, his contributions to agriculture, his fathering of the University of Virginia—these and other achievements are given sufficient emphasis. The reader is left with no question in his mind as to Jefferson's greatness.

The present reviewer is impressed by the way various biographers of this many-sided man have played up different phases of his life, without too much duplication. That is, he had so many interests and his finger was in so many pies that there is room for each biographer to put in his own finger and pull out whatever he may consider significant. In Schachner's work, if there is any weakness in emphasis, it is perhaps that the account is too factual and that there is not sufficient interpretation of the significance and philosophical implications of some of the data that are presented.

The references are given at the end of each volume, and in the last pages of Volume II are a bibliography and an index to both volumes. A total of thirty-three illustrations, most of them reproductions of portraits of Jefferson and his contemporaries, conform to the old-style presentation rather than to the more modern picture-and-text combination, with large numbers of illustrations of various types.

Raleigh, North Carolina

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

CRISIS IN FREEDOM: THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS. By *John C. Miller*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1951. Pp. 253. \$3.50.)

MR. Miller's study is offered to the American public at this time in the spirit

of an instructive lesson to be learned from viewing another age of crisis, when freedom of thought, speech, and press were under extensive and violent attack. The thesis that the social and political climate of America today is very like that of the closing years of the eighteenth century, and that their hysteria and their blunders should be our checks against a fateful and probably fatal repetition of mistakes, is central to this book; yet it is not developed in any detail. In fact, the thesis is stated only in the concluding two pages; and while enough of it permeates the entire study to create an atmosphere of special significance for what might otherwise be regarded merely as a fabulous and erratic chapter of the American past, no attempt is made to establish a reliable comparison between 1798-1800 and the (presumably) similar present period of loyalty and security measures, the Smith Act, McCarthyite "witch-hunting," and certain sensationalist congressional investigations.

However, simply in setting straight the account of the Alien and Sedition Acts and their effects upon the aroused American public, Mr. Miller has rendered a valuable service—popularly and professionally. Of the "new" angles that emerge from this story, one should note the sectional quality of the three crisis measures of 1798 (the Naturalization Act must be added to the Alien Act and the Sedition Act). Overwhelming support for these acts, it appears, came from the states north of the Potomac. If the Alien and Sedition Acts spoke in any distinctive native American idiom, it was New England Yankee. As a corrective to the conventional purity of "the North" as liberal judge of the sins of "the South," this is an interesting fact.

When Mr. Miller comes to review the case histories of the victims of the Sedition Act, the stubborn, brute irrationality of history makes itself felt. Alas, the victims, made into white knights by an enraged Republican press, were not only few in number (about a dozen) but—shall we say—mixed in moral stature. They were ranting journalists, cracker-barrel critics, wild Irishmen, drunkards, and one or two quite decent and worthy American citizens who happened to be Republican editors or publishers in predominantly Federalist communities (e.g., the case of Anthony Haswell). Mr. Miller seems to feel that the Sedition Act, by catching only a small haul of fish, and some of high odor, discredited itself. But, had it caught "dangerous revolutionaries . . . it no doubt would have earned the gratitude of the country and the admiration of historians." This is a too narrowly pragmatic test, for even had this act snagged "dangerous revolutionaries," it would have had to be inspected from the point of view of its attempt to muzzle the opposition press, as well as its bearing upon intellectual freedom in America. Had the Sedition Act succeeded in killing the two-party system in America, thereby establishing dictatorship, there would be no voices raised today against alleged "hysteria" or "witch-hunts," or in praise of cultural freedom.

As a narrative, *Crisis in Freedom* manages to be entertaining despite the fact that Mr. Miller considers his subject to be Act I in the "Tragedy of American Freedom." It is hard to account for this unexpected disparity between gravity of

theme and lightness of effect, but it may have something to do with the unbridled rhetoric of our forefathers, plus the prevalence of fisticuffs, street brawls, duels, tragicomic trials and Gilbert-and-Sullivan verdicts.

One final comment, concerning the author's scholarship. It appears to be extensive (particularly in newspaper and pamphlet sources of the period) rather than intensive. He adds very little that is new. Mr. Miller, on occasions, skims the cream from more original studies on the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. In this fashion the author makes rather free use of the path-breaking research of Mr. Frank M. Anderson and others, without adequate acknowledgment of his substantial indebtedness.

New York University

ADRIENNE KOCH

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS. By *George Dangerfield*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1951. Pp. xiv, 525. \$6.00.)

THIS is an exciting and exhilarating book which is all the more remarkable since it is Mr. Dangerfield's first venture into American history. As an Englishman he gave us *The Strange Death of Liberal England*; as a naturalized American he has brought to life a fascinating period in the history of the United States. He does for the years 1815-1828 what A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., did for the *Age of Jackson*, but he writes with even more brilliance and reveals no evident political bias.

Mr. Dangerfield's book is primarily a work of synthesis: it is not altogether drawn "straight from the original sources" as the publishers advertise, but rather reflects a multitude of monographic studies which have been brilliantly assimilated. Such an achievement is much needed in modern historiography. Dealing with the years from 1815 to 1828, the book has a section, by way of preface, outlining the causes of the War of 1812 and the peace negotiations at Ghent. It continues with the years before the panic of 1819 and the sectional tensions underlying the exuberant nationalism of the Era of Good Feelings: the conflict of agrarian debtor with eastern banker, and the first outbreak of the slavery question. The latter found a temporary compromise but the former grew more violent until it ended in the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828 and the destruction of the American system. All this is told with a literary skill which makes figures and events live as they rarely do on printed pages. Mr. Dangerfield has a talent for the pen portrait and a vivid historical imagination.

The most original and suggestive section of the book is the one called "The Diplomacy of Coal and Iron, 1821-1824," in which Mr. Dangerfield considers the Monroe Doctrine against the background of European politics. Here his knowledge of English history is invaluable, and his thesis can be stated simply. Liberal Toryism in England, moving slowly in the direction of free trade and against the Navigation Acts, was anxious for an understanding with America in the interests of commerce. This desire stood in strong contrast to the old Toryism so patently

exhibited by the mediocrities who represented England at Ghent. But American nationalism, visible in the protectionism of the American system, was slow to respond, and John Quincy Adams rebuffed the new advances by the Monroe Doctrine and by his obstinacy over the West Indian trade. In this way Adams is intuitively the leader of Manifest Destiny while Canning becomes the instinctive champion of nineteenth-century industrial Britain. Both men would probably have rejected this interpretation. Minor criticisms can be made of Mr. Dangerfield's analysis. He is perhaps overanxious to exalt Lord Liverpool as a Liberal Tory, and in the papers of Lord Bathurst which he quotes in an extensive bibliography, he could have found a protest made by Liverpool in 1810 against any concession to America as going "to the vitals of our navigation system." In his narrative of the negotiations leading to the Monroe Doctrine, Mr. Dangerfield had not the advantage of having read the recent book by W. W. Kaufman, *British Policy and the Independence of Latin America, 1804-1828*, and he seems to have overlooked Professor A. P. Whitaker's work on *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830*.

Criticisms of this book can only be minor ones; the description of the abortive Monroe-Pinckney treaty (incidentally given the wrong date) as "a thoroughly bad one" is undoubtedly sweeping, while on the technical side the unfortunate arrangement of footnotes makes a quick reference difficult. For the rest there is only praise: fine writing, wit, and understanding are contained in these dramatic and delightful pages.

Eton College, Windsor

W. A. BARKER

THE EYES OF DISCOVERY: THE PAGEANT OF NORTH AMERICA AS SEEN BY THE FIRST EXPLORERS. By *John Bakeless*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1950. Pp. 439. \$5.00.)

TAKING his material chiefly from eyewitness accounts of exploration John Bakeless offers us in this book a pleasantly written survey of primeval America (that part of it which later became the United States) as seen through the eyes of the men who first gave it literary description. His treatment is informal and in some respects is fresh and original. The cast of characters includes, to be sure, a number of familiar names. De Soto and Coronado appear prominently in the chapters on Spanish exploration in the lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest. Cartier and Champlain figure in the same way in the first French penetration of the St. Lawrence. Radisson and Verendrye contribute much to the description of the Great Lakes and the Mandan country, and Lewis and Clark and George Vancouver to that of the Missouri Valley and the Pacific Coast. A good part of the book is organized around these men and others of similar stature, and their activities and personalities give a sense of action and movement to what would otherwise be a profuse and tedious description of landscapes, trees, and plants,

of birds, animals, fish, and reptiles. But while the "first explorers" are central characters in the book, they do not dominate it. Our interest is drawn less to what they achieved than to what they saw, or, in some instances to what they might have seen.

In his enrichment of the reporting of the principal observers Mr. Bakeless is most ingenious. Through his wide acquaintance with the observations of other travelers who visited the same areas when they were still largely unchanged, the author assembles the descriptive detail for a vivid and comprehensive essay in geographic portraiture which is specifically documented and considerably more graphic than one written simply from the narratives left us by the leading figures. Thus the experience of the Lewis and Clark party with grizzly bears is amplified into a four-page essay on bears, with references to them by Alexander Mackenzie and other British fur traders and an account of the adventures of various American hunters in their attempts to kill the beasts. Similarly the landscape along the Platte River which the Mallet brothers (the first recorded Santa Fe traders) "must have seen" is described by a quotation from the journal of "an American dragoon who passed through the unchanging plains" in 1835 (p. 353). The technique is one to be used with care. The inattentive reader, not too sure of his company, may think he is traveling with Daniel Boone only to be thrown suddenly and successively with Felix Walker, Timothy Flint, "a priest traveling on the Mississippi in 1699," and Robert Baird writing in 1832 (p. 315). But Mr. Bakeless is a skillful writer. His allusions are usually clearly identified and if chronology is thrown to the winds there remains a consistent unity of purpose in his delineation of the face of the land, the flora and fauna, and the aborigines who occupied it.

The book has a light touch. Little in the way of systematic data is presented, yet geographers, biologists, anthropologists, as well as historians, will find much of interest in the incidents and sidelights that are brought together. One might complain about points of balance and proportion. The Rocky Mountain and the Pacific Coast areas receive scant attention and Captain George Vancouver never quite reaches Puget Sound. This is not a matter of regional discrimination apparently, for Connecticut and upstate New York fare not too well either. But though bits of the pageant may be overlooked, the author does achieve a noteworthy success in recreating the picture of a land untouched by modern civilization and in recapturing the white man's first reaction to it.

University of Washington

CHARLES M. GATES

WEST FROM FORT BRIDGER: THE PIONEERING OF THE IMMIGRANT TRAILS ACROSS UTAH, 1846-1850. Original Diaries and Journals Edited and with Introductions by *J. Roderic Korns*. [Utah Historical Quarterly, Volume XIX.] (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society. 1951. Pp. xx, 297. \$4.50.)

LIEUTENANT EMORY REPORTS: A REPRINT OF LIEUTENANT W. H. EMORY'S *NOTES OF A MILITARY RECONNOISSANCE*. Introduction and Notes by *Ross Calvin*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1951. Pp. 208. \$4.50.)

THESE two books are reprints, with editorial notes, of various journals kept by men who passed over either the central or the southern routes to California between 1846 and 1850.

Much of the work on *West from Fort Bridger* was done by the late J. Roderic Korns, a Salt Lake City businessman; after his death the manuscript was completed by a friend and associate in trail tracing, Dale L. Morgan. Since the book was published by the Utah State Historical Society, the geographical limitations, from Fort Bridger to the Humboldt River, can be justified. The volume is devoted to those parts of certain journals that relate especially to the beginnings of the Hastings Cutoff. The journals of James Clyman, Edwin Bryant, and James Frazier Reed have been printed previously; that of Heinrich Lienhard, which is especially significant for the new light it throws on the difficulties of the Donner party in Utah, is here printed for the first time in an English translation. There are also sections on the Golden Pass Road and the Salt Lake Cutoff.

The chief contribution in this study is in the editorial notes which trace the various routes in minute detail on the basis of careful field investigations. The footnotes, which are in general more extensive than the text, are enriched by excerpts from other contemporary records or later reminiscences. The maps are in keeping with the detailed character of the notes. One section is devoted to the T. H. Jefferson map (1849), which is reproduced in part. There are other maps to illustrate both the rugged terrain of the Wasatch Mountains and the desert region to the west of the Great Salt Lake. The major aspects of exploration and immigration in the period do not receive much attention in a study which is restricted to the middle phases of the various journeys considered; but in its limited sphere it may be considered definitive.

Lt. Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance* appeared first as an official report made in connection with the invasion of the northern Mexican provinces by the United States Army in 1846. The journal began at Bent's Fort, and covered the occupation of New Mexico, the advance down the Gila, and the entrance into California. Since scholars are familiar with and presumably have access to copies of the original report (Exec. Doc. 41, 30 Cong. 1 sess.), this edition has been prepared for "a considerably enlarged circle of readers, not scholarly perhaps, yet with alert, intelligent curiosity." With them in mind, certain parts of the *Notes*, for example, the tables of astronomical observation, have been omitted and other changes have been made, as in spellings and the Latin names of plants. It may be granted, as the editor insists, that these changes do not affect the essentials of the report, which remains an interesting narrative of adventure, well seasoned with comments on the life of the people in a region then coming under the control

of the United States. Even so, the usefulness of the book for serious students is impaired by the general lack of conventional editorial marks which show omissions from or changes in a text. And in order not to distract the reader (see p. 5), the editorial notes have been kept short and few in number. Emory's map has been reproduced, although divided into eight sections for convenience in use; fortunately, no attempt has been made to modernize or improve it. This attractive, well-printed volume should be of value and interest to the general readers for whom it has been prepared.

University of Colorado

COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ

LINCOLN AND HIS GENERALS. By *T. Harry Williams*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1952. Pp. viii, 363, iv. \$4.00.)

For half a century after Appomattox the military history of the American Civil War was for the most part written by, or based on the writings of, military participants. But during the past thirty years there has been a growing disposition to broaden the study beyond the narrow range of tactics and strategy, and even logistics. The latest example of this broader approach is Professor Harry Williams' study of the development of the command system of the Union armies, with special emphasis on President Lincoln as the central controlling figure—"a great natural strategist, a better one than any of his generals."

As commander in chief the President had a double responsibility, both of directing the grand strategy of the war and of "choosing the generals to manage the armies." The latter is described as a "galling, dull business" and one which (though the author does not say so in terms) does not seem to have been well performed until the war was nearly three fourths over. Ten of the generals chosen by the President for major commands—McDowell, McClellan, Fremont, Buell, Pope, Burnside, Rosecrans, Banks, McClelland, and Hooker—are written off as failures for one reason or another. An eleventh, Halleck, chosen to direct all the armies, "did not want to direct. He delighted to counsel but hated to decide." The twelfth man chosen, Meade, is rated as "competent in a routine sort of way" but lacking in "aggressive purpose."

From Professor Williams' analysis it appears that the President made twelve unfortunate, or at least unsatisfactory, choices of commanders during the first two and a half years of the war. As a result, his "patience with the generals wore very thin" and he "came to doubt and even scorn the capabilities of the military mind," the author says. Fortunately for Mr. Lincoln, however, and for the Union cause, he had in superior numbers and resources a margin of strength, and in a fixed four-year term a margin of time, within which he was able to keep on working at his problem of command until he found the right answer.

This he did, first in the spring of 1863 when he rectified his "wretched mistake" of dividing responsibility for taking Vicksburg between Grant and Mc-

Clermand, then in the fall of '63 when he put Grant in command of all the West, and finally, in the spring of 1864—thirty-five months after Sumter and eleven months before Appomattox—when he made Grant general in chief of all the armies. No longer did the “Eastern and Western armies act like balky teams, no two ever pulling together.”

But even then, the author notes, Lincoln, “the civilian strategist who never forgot that the destruction of enemy armies was the proper objective,” kept a guiding hand on the reins. For Professor Williams does not accept “Grant’s vision of himself conducting the war with a free hand.” He was allowed more latitude than earlier generals, the author says, because “Grant conformed his plans to Lincoln’s own strategic ideas. Fundamentally, Grant’s strategy was Lincolnian.”

Such is the thesis of an admirably planned and executed work which well fulfills the author’s expressed hope that it will contribute both to the history and to the understanding of the American command system. The book is even broader in the light it throws on the genesis of modern or total war with which later generations have become so unhappily familiar. Grant, it says, was “the first of the great moderns,” as Lee was “the last of the great old-fashioned generals.” The “modernity of Grant’s mind was most apparent in his grasp of the concept that war was becoming total and that the destruction of the enemy’s economic resources was as effective and legitimate a form of warfare as the destruction of his armies.” And President Lincoln, the author says, “was in actuality as well as in title the commander in chief who, by his larger strategy, did more than Grant or any general to win the war for the Union.”

Alexandria, Virginia

ROBERT S. HENRY

THE MILITARY GENIUS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By Brigadier-General *Colin R. Ballard*. With a Preface by Fletcher Pratt. (Cleveland: World Publishing Company. 1952. Pp. 246. \$5.00.)

IN 1926 there was published in this country a small volume by Major General Sir Frederick Maurice, entitled *Statesmen and Soldiers of the Civil War*, which gave a critical analysis of High Command, North and South. Maurice did more than commend strongly the system of command evolved by Lincoln and Grant in the last year of the war. He dissented from the rather prevalent view that Lincoln had failed as a war minister until he finally handed over military matters to Grant. He showed that Lincoln had not always failed, and that he did not free himself of ultimate responsibility after he made Grant the general in chief, but continued to play an important role.

The charge that Lincoln interfered harmfully with military matters began soon after the collapse of McClellan’s Peninsular campaign. In his memoirs the general went so far as to say the administration had wanted him to fail, and the much-read Ropes indicted Lincoln in strong terms. On the other side of the Atlantic Colonel Henderson in his *Stonewall Jackson* gave support to the thesis

of interference. Further harm was done in the introduction to the book written by Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley, when he placed the Federal failures during the first three years of the war largely at the door of Lincoln and Stanton.

Maurice's excellent book was probably not widely read. In the same year that his book appeared there was published in England the book by Ballard, now republished here, in which a heavier attack was made on the excuses of McClellan and the teachings of Henderson and Wolseley. It took courage to choose a title such as Ballard used, but it was a happy choice for it makes the book an arresting one even before its pages are read.

Ballard's work, with its good sketch maps, gives an unrivaled outline of the major operations of the war, while directing special attention to Lincoln's actions and views. To compress so great a contest into 241 pages of text looks like an impossibility, and of course some faulty ideas can result. But Ballard had a genius for finding the essential point, a great gift for brevity of expression, and could use striking language. It would be hard to imagine a more effective sentence than: "In the final operations Grant was at his best, and Grant's best was very good indeed." Some Federal commanders generally harshly criticized are properly appreciated. Pope, for all his faults, is seen to have been aggressive, and Banks gets a fine compliment: "Banks was always ready for a fight, and fought well." After sketching campaigns in their essence and giving his reader glimpses of the parts played by generals in the winning of the war, Ballard leaves him with a dominating thought: "But the man was Abraham Lincoln."

The new American edition is improved by the addition of seventeen illustrations of leading personalities. The preface by Fletcher Pratt will orient the reader and help him appreciate the merit of the work.

Indiana University

KENNETH P. WILLIAMS

ORIGINS OF THE NEW SOUTH, 1877-1913. By *C. Vann Woodward*. [A History of the South, Volume IX.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 542. \$6.50.)

THE ninth volume in "A History of the South" covers the years 1870 to 1913. The dates may be a little odd, for whatever relevance they may have in national political history they have no significance in southern development. These are the years of the "Redemption," of the "New South" slogans which covered the industrialization of the region, of the embattled and eventually disarmed farmers of Populism, of the peculiarly southern varieties of progressivism, of cultural progress and literary change—but they do not add up to a coherent, unified period of southern history. At the end, 1913, most of the forces which Professor Woodward so skillfully dissects are still operating and have not yet reached their fulfillment. Professor Woodward wisely refrains from attempting to impose a nonexistent unity upon his material.

The events of these years have been the subject of numerous monographs,

biographies, and scholarly articles and an even larger number of partisan "interpretative" essays. No one, however, has previously attempted a full-scale synthesis of the confusing and conflicting forces in southern life. Inevitably, Professor Woodward's first task was to clear away the rubbish which has been said about the South by partisan attackers, vigorous apologists, and ill-informed historians. Perhaps this is the greatest contribution of the book. Certainly the necessity for clearing the ground gave form to the volume. Skepticism of both the clichés of scholars and the slogans of promoters permeates the pages.

To begin with, Professor Woodward discards the term "Bourbon" as grossly inadequate and inaccurate. The "Redeemers" of the South after Reconstruction were middle-class heirs of the old Whig tradition. He repeats, in summary, his own recent exposition of the compromise of 1877 which was a combination of "reunion and reaction" in the South. He examines the alleged solidarity of the Solid South, and discovers a democratic versus Whig conflict hidden in the internal revolts of independents against the redeemers. He examines the industrial revolution of the 1880's, and concludes that with all the achievements, the South remained rural. He discusses the unredeemed farmer and the "mudsills and bottom rails" of southern industry, and traces the national origins of Populism to their southern home. Step by step, swinging the sharp scythe of critical scholarship, Professor Woodward clears away the brambles of misconceptions to reveal an impoverished and rocky soil.

The core of the book is a penetrating discussion of southern Populism—its rise from the rural protest against urban and eastern exploitation, its betrayal by its leaders, and its aftermath of discrimination, disfranchisement, and disillusion. Following Populism there are chapters on race relations, on twentieth-century progressivism ("for whites only"—but antedating the more publicized reforms of midwestern progressivism) on educational reforms and literary renaissance. The volume ends, inconclusively, with a discussion of the southern aspects of Wilsonianism.

Beyond all question this is the most valuable book that has been written about the South in these years. Because of its freshness of view and its critical scholarship in a period long neglected, it is the most useful volume of "A History of the South" that has appeared. Although the awkward dates assigned to the volume prevented a clearly defined synthesis, the book clearly establishes the author's primacy among the scholars of the "New South" (a term which he righteously deplores).

University of Wisconsin

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN THEATRE, 1700-1950. By *Glenn Hughes*, Director of the School of Drama, University of Washington. (New York: Samuel French. 1951. Pp. ix, 562. \$5.00.)

A History of the American Theatre marks the first attempt to survey this field since Arthur Hornblow's *A History of the Theatre in America* (1919). The need for it is apparent. American theater offers a direct reflection of our cultural and economic history. The plays it has presented and the styles of production it has used provide a valuable index of popular taste. Mr. Hughes clearly recognizes that many plays given prominence by Quinn and other critics of dramatic literature have been of little actual importance to the American stage, and he properly stresses the fact that American theater, until 1850, was largely dependent on foreign actors and plays. But he is principally concerned to chronicle the growth of the theater, year by year, city by city. The greater part of the book forms a handy condensation of Odell's monumental but unwieldy *Annals of the New York Stage* (from the beginnings to 1894) and the slipshod *Best Plays* series edited by Mantle, Sherwood, and Chapman, which covers the period from 1909 to the present. The popular plays of any period, the history of theaters, the biographies, major roles, and ventures of the more important stars and managers are made readily available. Careful attention is paid to the financial problems of theaters, actors, authors, and managers. The deficiencies of the book are those of omission and scope.

The failure to describe production techniques is most serious. Boucicault's introduction of the box set in 1841 is described as changing the theater radically (p. 140), but the nature of the change is not examined. Odell's statement that the Keans were "the last representatives of the magnificent old school of English tragedy" is quoted (p. 197), but one encounters no description of this or any other school of acting.

Popular entertainment is recorded generously, but related arts are slighted. Nineteenth-century theater in America, for example, was certainly influenced by oratory. The comparative conditions of the European and American stage are neglected. The summaries of playwriting trends are often haphazardly presented. Mr. Hughes's habit of regarding all early drama as quaint or dull leads him to mention the "Indian" tragedies which flourished from 1830 to 1845 only as the targets of Brougham's parody *Pocahontas*, produced in 1855. Two important playwrights, George Washington Custis and James Nelson Barker, are lost in the process, perhaps because the work of neither achieved the prolonged popularity that seems to be Mr. Hughes's standard for inclusion. On the other hand, this makes the absence of Robert Montgomery Bird, whose tragedies Edwin Forrest played more than a thousand times, even more surprising. In referring to the "Yankee" character plays which delighted audiences for fifty years, Mr. Hughes skips two important contributors to the genre, Joseph Stevens Jones and Samuel Woodworth. In the later nineteenth century, William Young, who wrote *The Rajah* and adapted *Ben Hur*, deserves mention, and W. H. Smith, listed only as a manager, should receive credit as author of *The Drunkard*. E. E. Cummings' *him*, a 1928 *succès de scandale*, is also omitted.

A frothy style and cute section headings slant the book for popular consump-

tion but detract from the impressiveness of Mr. Hughes's research. *A History of the American Theatre* has long been needed but this account by no means pre-empt its subject.

New York, N.Y.

THEODORE HOFFMAN

MEN IN BUSINESS: ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP. Edited by *William Miller*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 350. \$5.00.)

THE psychology and social ideas of the American businessman have had far too little scientific evaluation despite the obvious significance of the subject in a society where business leadership plays so important a role. Harvard's Research Center in Entrepreneurial History, stimulated by the original concepts of the late Professor Schumpeter, has fostered intellectual co-operation in this fruitful field among historians, economists, and sociologists. Their staff and associates have drawn upon the tools of quantitative studies (easily decipherable), comparative analysis, and the genetic approach of the historian.

Eleven essays in this collection, some of them from contrasting viewpoints, examine the entrepreneur with the most encouraging results. Thus John E. Sawyer discusses methodology and finds a text in Schumpeter's definition of the entrepreneur as one who has the will to conquer "to succeed for the sake not of the fruits of success, but of success itself." This is a far cry from the definition of Sombart, who stressed the factor of rationality rather than adventure in the make-up of the businessman. Sawyer applies this concept of Schumpeter to a comparative view of the French and American businessman. The American appears more aggressive and far more hospitable to innovations; talent and energy, without the restraints of French business, are more easily recruited here than in France.

Two quantitative studies of unusual interest to historians are William Miller's "The Business Elite in Business Bureaucracies" and Gregory and Neu's "The American Industrial Elite in the 1870's." Miller expands the thesis that he presented in several articles for the *Journal of Economic History*, namely, that the Horatio Alger theory of the rise of the great American entrepreneur from rags to riches is largely unhistorical. In fact, even Schumpeter's picture of the daring entrepreneur does not seem to fit here. In tabulating the biographic facts regarding 185 business leaders in 1900, he notes that few had previously taken a chance on organizing a company of their own "without a life preserver in the shape of a salary." Lawyers and engineers had a decided advantage in the line of promotion in the large industrial bureaucracies. The Gregory-Neu study of 303 industrial leaders confirms Miller's earlier studies of the relatively well-to-do social origins of American business bureaucrats. Even in the 1870's, the urban native-born entrepreneur of middle-class parentage was the norm; about half the leaders did not go to work before their nineteenth year—altogether a favored segment of

the population. Carnegie, the poor Scottish immigrant boy with almost no formal education and a working record that began before his tenth year, is not at all typical.

Space forbids similar attention to the other essays, all of which are unusually informative and attractively written. David S. Landes' "Bankers and Pashas," based on the correspondence of a private banker of the viceroy of Egypt contrasts the cynical, irrational, and highly subjective business criteria of mid-nineteenth-century international speculators with the cautious outlook of a domestic French banker. One may infer the reason that foreign investment failed to raise Egypt's standard of living from this case study. Dorothy Gregg's "John Stevens, Entrepreneur" is noteworthy for its background analysis of the famous *Gibbons vs. Ogden* case. Harold C. Passer's "Frank Julian Sprague," tells a good deal about the origins of electric traction in this country. Other essays that break new ground are those on Henry Noble Day, a former Western Reserve College professor who evolved and attempted (disastrously) a new idea of entrepreneurship, Henry Varnum Poor, "philosopher of management," and several more significant papers.

This book is important both for its interpretive content and its clear-cut adherence to a sound framework of social-economic theory. Such studies will advance history as a discipline in the direction of becoming a genuine social science by compelling more scholars to take up the issue of infusing more theoretical content into the solution of historical problems. Little of literary charm need be sacrificed in the process.

Western Reserve University

HARVEY WISH

EMPIRE IN PINE: THE STORY OF LUMBERING IN WISCONSIN.

By *Robert F. Fries*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1951. Pp. viii, 285. \$4.00.)

THIS book is an account of the part played by lumber in the building of the state of Wisconsin. As such it is also a valuable contribution to the regional history of the upper Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi Valley.

The fur trade had first led men into the Wisconsin forests but the day of the trappers was short and left few traces. Early in the nineteenth century the agricultural frontier swept "like a huge tidal wave" across the Allegheny Mountains, reached the treeless prairies of Illinois, and moved across the Mississippi River into even larger treeless areas. Here was a demanding and rapidly growing market which, combined with the abundance of merchantable timber in Wisconsin, had by 1840 set the stage for one of the region's leading industries. Wisconsin was, furthermore, richly endowed with conveniently located navigable streams and natural water power, resources necessary for the transportation of logs and lumber and for the power to run the mills.

Mr. Fries's study—which deals with the period when lumber in Wisconsin meant white pine—reaches back into the primitive beginnings of the industry

and gathers momentum as the industry grows. By the turn of the century the commercial white pine had passed its heyday in Wisconsin, for by that time most of the lumbering counties had seen their years of maximum cut.

In addition to describing the physical growth of the industry Mr. Fries brings out the important part played by the leaders, a phase often neglected in economic studies. It takes patient, intelligent, driving effort on the part of management to bring about the continuing co-operation of the many people working in an industry with so many ramifications. The Knapp, Stout and Company, for example, rose to its position of prominence through the leadership of John H. Knapp. In 1846 Knapp made his first investment in the lumber industry in Wisconsin with a capital of one thousand dollars. The owners performed most of the labor, and the daily cut was about five thousand board feet. By 1898, two thousand men were on the payroll and the daily capacity of their mills reached three quarters of a million. In half a century that company had endured and survived three panics. The problems faced by the management clearly lay far beyond the processing and transporting of the product.

The reviewer might pose several questions. In discussing the national land laws the author makes no reference to the military bounty land warrants which were commonly used in the location of land in the period of the forties and fifties; it is hardly possible that Wisconsin pinelands could have escaped them. The Holt Lumber Company papers, covering more than a century, are included in the bibliography, but, while these would appear to offer unusual source material, they have not, judging by the footnotes, been incorporated into the text to any great degree. In the account of the marketing of lumber no mention is made of the line yard, a development that was important in other lumber states. Finally, the cut-over lands were a heritage left by the lumber industry which created an economic and social problem for the state. A more detailed analysis of this problem would give strength to the argument for reforestation.

In an orderly and objective fashion Mr. Fries has presented the history of the industry together with the problems and forces which shaped it. The work is well documented, and the style is such that the layman as well as the specialist can easily follow the story. This volume may well serve as a pattern for similar studies in other states.

St. Olaf College

AGNES M. LARSON

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Volume III, THE SQUARE DEAL, 1901-1903. Volume IV, THE SQUARE DEAL, 1903-1905. Selected and edited by *Elting E. Morison, et al.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 710; 711-1438. \$20.00.)

THESE volumes cover Roosevelt's vice-presidency and his first four years as President. Here Morison is handling a period with which he gained familiarity in preparing his life of Admiral Sims. His footnotes reflect his understanding of

the times and of Roosevelt. Some of the long footnotes and the essay by John Blum on the political strategy of Roosevelt in urging reform of the tariff to force a conservative Congress to enact railroad legislation it did not want are so enlightening that the reader wonders why the editors did not more often supply fuller background for the letters. Again the day-by-day chronology of Roosevelt's activities is useful. Fuller use of the chronology compiled and documented by Nora E. Cordingley, long librarian of the Roosevelt collection, would, however, have added greatly to the value of the one printed. It is strange, too, to have printed copies of four important dispatches concerning the Portsmouth conference from a letter to Lodge rather than from the originals, and a copy sent to Jusserand rather than the original confidential cable sent to Ambassador Meyer in St. Petersburg on August 21, 1905. The subject headings given to nine subdivisions of these volumes are, in view of the chronological and miscellaneous arrangement of the letters, misleading and confusing. The index is far better than most, though it might have been still more detailed in the subject subdivisions. Again in these volumes the editing is remarkably accurate. The standard Morison sets in this matter will long remain a challenge to future editors.

Whereas Roosevelt letters before 1897 were scarce and hard to locate in scattered places, usually in the hands of heirs of the recipients, Roosevelt himself preserved copies of most of his letters between 1901 and 1905. Indeed, out of 1,727 letters that Morison prints only 73 were not in the Roosevelt Manuscripts themselves. Of these twenty-three were holographs, nine of them to John Hay. Copies of forty-nine typed letters reproduced in these volumes were somehow not preserved in the Roosevelt papers. Of these Morison found eight in printed sources and the rest in widely diversified manuscript collections of public figures. For large numbers of letters Morison found both the original and Roosevelt's copy. He did diligently search out Roosevelt items in other collections. It is a great pity then that he wrote "Roosevelt Mss." at the top of 1,654 out of the 1,727 letters because a copy was in Roosevelt's letterpress copybooks, instead of giving the reader the location of the *original* letter in the recipient's papers or some miscellaneous collection. Citation of the original outside the Roosevelt papers would have been preferable. Many readers could more conveniently use a recipient's collection. It would have been sounder scholarship to reproduce the original rather than a copy. Roosevelt's letters are full of emendations made as Roosevelt signed them, and while the letterpress copies of this period usually preserved these changes, carbon copies in the later period did not. Any scholar knows instances where the copy retained and the letter received are not identical. A copy in the Roosevelt collection could have been indicated by an asterisk. In any case, the information so easy for Morison to supply but now lost would have been useful.

Again Morison and the Roosevelt family are to be commended on refraining from the censorship too many editors engage in and too many families impose. Morison has impartially printed material from which an admirer can paint a hero's tale or a critic a devastating condemnation of Roosevelt. He has included

letters about a reprimand of a powerful general named MacArthur for talking indiscreetly in 1903 about the imminence of war with Germany. Roosevelt's jingoism, his violent dislikes, his most vituperative denunciations of prominent men are published unsoftened. Unfavorable comments on his friend John Hay, long sealed from view in a more detailed version, are here published in short version. Frankly critical views of Japan and Britain that he sometimes expressed, his clashes with reformers like Oswald G. Villard and Ray S. Baker, his shrewd analyses of the kaiser and the kaiser's "pipe dreams," his childlike love of fighting and killing are all there. Again Morison publishes all letters in full without deletions. This printing of the whole truth, sound as it is unusual, gives these volumes value that few edited works have.

Yet these volumes, even more than the earlier ones, suffer from their peculiar scope. The usefulness of a collection so large is questionable unless it is to be large enough to be inclusive. One cannot quarrel too seriously with Morison's criteria of selection. Certainly one can do without numerous categories of repetitive minor letters. Yet, even though no one of them was particularly significant, the omission of a number of letters to Tom Platt and one each to Bishop and Norton Goddard about Platt deprives the reader of the cumulative impression the whole series would have given of relations with Platt. Morison under his formula printed two typical letters to Boies Penrose on patronage and omitted thirteen others. There was nothing in the other thirteen except more of what was in the two. Yet the cumulative effect of the fifteen consulting Penrose was completely lost by the selective process. Of the letters to Lodge forty-six that seemed to this reviewer important for a life of Roosevelt were omitted. They dealt with legislation concerning ship subsidies, the tariff, trusts, and the Philippines, politics in New York, appointments of Negroes, Southerners, a Roughrider, consuls, Justice Holmes, and a brother-in-law of Lodge whom the senator was promoting. They discussed Charles XI, Condé, Sheridan, the post-office scandals, and such foreign policy questions as the Alaskan boundary, reciprocity, Cuba, the Virgin Islands. The omitted letters gave Roosevelt's views on the South, Negroes, a Panama railroad, Catholics. One told of Root's visit to Morgan early in the coal strike. Others gave Roosevelt's opinion of Jusserand, and his violent feelings toward Mugwumps such as Charles Francis Adams and Moorfield Storey.

Under whatever subject one looks, letters important to a student of that question are missing. Five letters to Booker Washington and four about Roosevelt's relations with him were omitted. So, too, were five about diplomatic appointments and one about the choice of Holmes for the Supreme Court. Roosevelt's desire for a large Navy and his consigning of people to the Ananias Club are well known, but no one would wish to write on these subjects without seeing three letters on each subject that are omitted. The same is true of three letters on the Northern Securities case, five indicating Roosevelt's desire to avoid the tariff issue, six evidencing closeness to businessmen, two elaborating his conception of

himself as a defender of the status quo against socialism, two interesting letters insisting on democracy in the Army, two on American cruelty in the Philippines, and six expressing his views on the Colorado coal strike. Omitted, too, are three letters important to understanding Roosevelt's handling of Jews in politics, six on the Jewish problems in Russia and the Balkans, two showing his concern about anarchists, five that illumine his views on the Negro, and one eloquently pleading against raising the Catholic issue in politics. Although there are many letters on the Portsmouth conference, Morison omits two on the calling of it and fourteen on its meetings that any scholar studying the matter would need to see, several of them highly confidential statements. No one that wished to know Roosevelt's part in the Panama revolution could afford to overlook twelve letters not printed, including two that indicate the use of Army men to gather information in the territory of a friendly power. Similarly a student would want to see one discarded letter on business interests in Venezuela, five on European intervention in Venezuela, and a confidential one to John Hay in which Roosevelt denounces the Colombians as "jack rabbits" whom we may have to teach a lesson. Six letters, all of them interesting, indicating Roosevelt's basic friendliness toward Japan and his liking for Japanese are missing. So, too, are four revealing attitudes toward Britain during the period and twelve specifically discussing the bitter Alaskan boundary dispute. Likewise missing are six letters on Roosevelt's relations with the kaiser. It is a pity to omit ten letters in Roosevelt's most vigorous language expressing his views on reformers in general, Mugwumps in particular, and Schurz, *Collier's*, and that "infamous sheet" the New York *Evening Post* by name. A pity, too, not to include six letters on his reprimand of General Miles for persistently abusing his military position "in the interest of the enemies of decent administration." Interesting, also, would have been the long letter of protest over the kind of "foul and . . . hideous . . . unspeakable lowness" that "triumphed in the person of Vardaman" whose "kennel filth . . . the foulest New York black-guard would not dare to use on the stump." A number of short letters were omitted that in themselves were not of great importance but that, because they reveal Roosevelt's relations with men of great importance, would have been useful: for example, one to Carnegie, three to and six about Hanna, and five giving Roosevelt's opinion of Hay. One letter comparing Bryan and Parker in a manner favorable to Bryan would have been interesting. Because of future quarrels with these people five letters to Harriman and three about him, one about Tillman, two to the Storsers, and four about Joe Cannon would seem important. This is especially true of a friendly letter to La Follette and another strongly supporting him in 1904, four letters to and one about Woodrow Wilson indicating the friendliest of relations, and a letter to Wilson in 1902 expressing great admiration for his kind of scholarship because it "tends to statesmanship." Lengthy as these volumes are for a reader interested in Roosevelt, the student of any subject here included will still have to go to the manuscripts. In view

of this, the reviewer wonders whether the vast amount of money spent on their publication could not have been better used unless enough more had been added to make the publication useful to scholars.

These volumes give an excellent picture of the sort of man Theodore Roosevelt was. They portray his boundless energy, his passionate likes and dislikes, his humanness, his tumultuous life, his wide and catholic interests that made him not only a master of practical politics and a statesman but a hunter, a soldier, a naturalist, a sportsman, a historian, an essayist, and something of an authority on naval techniques and strategy, on literature from Icelandic to American poetry, on art and architecture, on domestic problems and international politics. The letters reveal a man that found time while leading the busiest of public lives to be a devoted father and husband, a tireless campaigner, a spellbinding preacher of morals, democracy, Americanism, and the vigorous life, one of the best conversationalists of his day, a voracious reader, a writer of letters rarely equaled in mass production or in sustained good quality, and an essayist who commanded higher pay than most writers of his time. Few had so many or such varied friends. Though they still leave important questions unanswered concerning his relations with the kaiser over Venezuela, these letters paint vivid pictures of Roosevelt's handling of the coal strike, the Northern Securities prosecution, and the campaign of 1904, his efforts to get legislation through a Congress much more conservative than he was, his solving of Philippine and Cuban problems, his taking Panama, his high-handed settling of the Alaskan boundary dispute, his adroitness in persuading both Russia and Japan to accept a treaty that neither wanted, his maneuvering of France, Britain, and Germany into putting pressure on Japan and Russia and settling the Moroccan controversy. Theodore Roosevelt symbolized for countless Americans the best in America of his day; he balanced rival interest groups in a "fair deal" for all; he understood before most Americans America's involvement in the world and participated actively in world affairs. In these letters he exasperates and charms, he provokes criticism and admiration. Withal he is always intensely American and never dull.

University of Wisconsin

HOWARD K. BEALE

THE CALIFORNIA PROGRESSIVES. By *George E. Mowry*. [Chronicles of California Series.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 349. \$6.00.)

THE California progressive movement was not without its paradoxical aspects. Organized to fight the long-established Southern Pacific machine, the progressive program was devised and put across by a "small inner group" that selected the reform governor and his supporting ticket by "undemocratic methods."

The progressives opposed both capital and labor wherever either was politically powerful. Essentially middle class, they were largely either professional

(newspapermen and lawyers were particularly active) or independent businessmen. The movement began in 1906, when bipartisan groups in San Francisco and Los Angeles organized to gain control of their city governments. In 1910 the progressives elected Hiram Johnson governor.

They dominated California politics for six years. In that time they adopted an initially impressive reform program, slowed up their reforms in order to consolidate their political machine, were rent by personal bickerings, and finally slid into ineffectuality, partly as a result of the change in American thinking during and after World War I, and partly because of the temperamental difficulties of Hiram Johnson.

This, in substance, is the story that emerges from Professor George Mowry's book, *The California Progressives*, the most comprehensive account of the California progressive movement so far written. In it he has had to tell a story involving a number of personalities, many of them of interest only to the specialist in western history. He has had to describe inimical interests in conflict on points that must often strike the reader as bits of local history, and to decide what evidence is reliable and what is colored by personal rancor. These parochial differences had to be taken into account, for, although local, they often bore directly on the course of the national progressive movement. Professor Mowry has kept the strands straight and the narrative clear.

Professor Mowry has used most available major manuscript collections. He has also used the papers, interviews, and unpublished dissertation of Miss Alice Rose of Stanford University, a piece of singular good fortune for, as he says, her pioneer work is a priceless boon to other scholars. That Professor Mowry was forced to write his history without access to the Hiram Johnson Papers, thus giving us a situation comparable to a wedding without the bride, is distinctly not his fault; even so, we are left with no doubt that the man who led the California progressives to victory also demolished the movement. The strongest part of the book, however, lies in the first seven chapters, where the greatest amount of manuscript material is. As a whole, the book relies heavily on the Lissner-Rowell-Dickson Papers. Hence, the author has understandably absorbed many of the prejudices of the group that supported and elected Hiram Johnson. This bias could have been modified by using the Scripps newspapers, particularly before Scripps swung to Wilson; Irving Martin's Stockton newspaper; and *La Follette's Magazine*. (In passing, one wishes that the author had brought out that piece of then-common knowledge: that in 1912 there would have been no La Follette campaign in California if it had not been for Rudolph Spreckels.) Again, one feels that in the account of the 1914 election, Professor Mowry has not given sufficient emphasis to the point of view of the radical group and has thus left partially unexplained much of the bad feeling between the Johnson and Heney forces. The Kent Collection at Yale contains considerable colorful information on this point. Two confidential letters from Heney—one to Gifford Pinchot on January 20, 1914, and one to Theodore Roosevelt on September 26,

1914—make his position clear, while additional information is available in the Gifford and Amos Pinchot papers at the Library of Congress.

These reservations by no means destroy the main point: this book contains a large amount of material that is otherwise disparate, difficult of access, and unorganized. *The California Progressives* will undoubtedly be standard for a long time.

The University of California Press has done its usual meticulous job, but several misprints jar the eye. Is not the novelist "Boyensen" really Boyesen? The Bard Collection is at Hueneme. Walter Houser habitually spelled his name as it is printed here, and Raymond Robin's name contains only one "b." Otherwise the book is accurate as to proofreading and distinguished as to format.

Washington, D. C.

HELENE MAXWELL HOOKER

WASHINGTON COMMAND POST: THE OPERATIONS DIVISION. By Ray S. Cline. [United States Army in World War II: The War Department.] (Washington: Department of the Army. 1951. Pp. xvi, 413. \$3.25.)

THE Operations Division, War Department General Staff, was organized in March, 1942, as the successor to the War Plans Division. Its creation was one of the most important parts of the reorganization of the army and had a decisive influence upon the remainder of the war since it enabled the Chief of Staff to exercise direct and effective control of the American armies in all theaters. Actually the Operations Division was a whole staff in itself, co-ordinating the other general staff sections, the three great divisions of the army—the Army Air Forces, Army Ground Forces, and Army Service Forces—and the overseas commands. It had this authority because General Marshall insisted upon it, but in carrying out his instructions the division encountered jealousies and rivalries that are as old as the army itself. The other staff divisions, theoretically on a parity with the Operations Division, resented its over-riding power, and the commanders of the operating and administrative agencies of the Army believed in some instances that their independence was threatened. The division, however, fulfilled the purpose of its creation, and the results, according to Dr. Cline's views, justified its existence.

In recent years the Department of the Army has been once again reorganized. The other General Staff divisions have been strengthened and the Operations Division weakened, so that now co-ordination of the Army's multifarious activities can be accomplished only at the level of the Chief of Staff and his deputies. The author of the book refrains from critical comment on this decision, merely describing it, but it seems evident that he believes it was inadvisable and that in case of another war some such agency as the Operations Division of World War II must be created.

This discussion is too complicated for one not well versed in Army staff practices to enter. And yet it seems evident to even the rankest amateur on any staff that there is an inherent and necessary tendency for the operations officer—G-3 on

most staffs—to assume a directing and controlling influence upon the other sections. The chief of staff of a division, corps, or army is compelled constantly to remind the G-3 that he is but a deputy chief of staff like the other section heads, but the sheer requirements of his task force him frequently to ignore this fact.

The author of this book is not primarily concerned with this aspect of the problem of the Operations Division. He has written an institutional biography of the division and of its predecessor, War Plans. He describes how the men who made up these divisions did their work, not what they did—except occasionally as illustration—because the true picture of their accomplishments is to be found in the other volumes of the Department of the Army history which will be concerned with strategic plans and operations. The book, as a consequence, has little to interest the casual reader on the war, whose concern is primarily in battles and operations, but it will be invaluable to any serious student seeking to understand the complicated problems of decision and command in the areas of army responsibility.

Dr. Cline has written what is very frankly and honestly described as administrative history. He has accepted the challenge of what is on the surface the least interesting and rewarding of historical enterprises. But he has demonstrated that this superficial judgment is not necessarily accurate. He has written not only with clarity and vigor but also with enthusiasm and interest. Future historians will be in his debt and also the army officers for whom it is the author's hope that he has provided "information in which they may find precedents and analogies bearing on various possible solutions of their own problems in the future."

University of the South

THOMAS P. GOVAN

CROSS-CHANNEL ATTACK. By *Gordon A. Harrison*. [United States Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.] (Washington: Department of the Army. 1951. Pp. xvii, 519. \$5.25.)

For a variety of reasons, wars became the subject of official historiography during the second half of the nineteenth century. Moltke and his Great General Staff with a historical section took over from Thiers, so to speak, watching not only over the "applicatory" side of such writings—the lessons to be derived for future strategy and tactics—but also over political tactfulness; the largely nominal position of the supreme warlord must be guarded, no important toes stepped on, hence the always discreet treatment of *limoging*, the relief of commanding officers from their posts (this had to be done in Normandy in 1944). To preserve harmony, chapters of such histories would be submitted before publication to war commanders and their chiefs of staff for comment and criticism. The first official war history in the United States was the Civil War *Official Records*, which were assembled as a vast mass of materials for everybody to make use of. The official history of the United States Army in the First World War was at least remarkable for the slowness with which it appeared. Planning for the official history of the

Second World War began almost as early as other preparations and on a corresponding scale: the Department of the Army is planning for approximately one hundred volumes, putting on the author of the single volume and the reviewer the terrible task of having to deal with one per cent of the whole. While in the present case the author would have acquitted himself well in contributing his part, the reviewer might voice his own hope that the whole will equal at least the sum of its parts. What he misses after having read not only this one but several of the first volumes is a certain depth, something due either to the restriction imposed by the "project" on the authors or to the unfamiliarity of authors and supervisors with earlier war history, whose old and recurrent themes, such as *canons sur mer* vs. *canons sur terre* and others, remain unnoticed as perennials. The danger is, briefly, fragmentation of the totality of total war, as well as its isolation from other wars.

The treatment accorded to Operation Overlord is divided three fifths between a political-strategic-logistic part, covering Allied preparations, and two fifths a tactical one, dealing with events from June 6 to the fall of Cherbourg. That is proportioning as it ought to be, though it reveals a striking hiatus: the impression the reader gains is that little tactical planning extended beyond the coastline, that the forces put ashore found themselves on their own, and unprepared in particular for the terrain over which they were to advance—the hedgerows and fields of Normandy—encountering obstacles that had to be overcome by improvisations and heavy casualties, obstacles and fragmentation that make the narrative of the struggle, as admitted by the author himself (p. 338), almost as incoherent as battle actually is. A splendid complement of maps, however, aids in forming a picture of the beachheads and the advance out of them, much more so than the photographic illustrations.

Participating in the turn toward total war—winner taking all that is left, including the enemy's records, something incidentally that raises the question of their return to him once he is no longer an enemy—American historiography finds itself in possession of the record from both sides, as at the close of the Civil War, enabling it, materially speaking, to write better, more comprehensively. This challenge of becoming bi-riparian, so to speak, is on the whole well met in the volume under review: the use made of German materials and the treatment given to the German side is generally commendable, though one would wish that at least a trial balance of casualty totals for both sides during the period had been struck, allowing that comparison which older battle monographs used to provide. One could also wish for explanations, in the bibliographical annex, about "captive writing," the writing done by German commanders and staff members during their prolonged American captivity. What directives were they given, if any? Since more materials of this sort are to be used in volumes to come, such an explanation would still be not too late.

The great Balzac intended to write a novel, "La bataille," dealing with Essling and what followed:

In this [as he told *l'Etrangère*] I undertake to introduce you to all the horrors, all the beauties of a battle field. . . . I want the reader to see from his fauteuil the landscape, the accidents of the terrain, the mass of men, the strategic moves . . . and feel behind this corporality Napoleon whom I shall not show, or not before the evening when he crosses the Danube in a barge. . . . You shall read this as through the smell of powder, and when the book is read, you shall believe you had seen all this with your own eyes and you ought to remember the battle as if you had been present.

Nothing of that art is here, and little is attempted. But the novelist also wrote: "*Organisation c'est un mot de l'Empire*," and that is the *mot* for the present kind and piece of war history: it deals so largely with organization and is well arranged for that.

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

THE ARMY AIR FORCES IN WORLD WAR II. Volume III, EUROPE: ARGUMENT TO V-E DAY, JANUARY 1944 TO MAY 1945. Edited by Wesley Frank Craven, Princeton University, and James Lea Cate, University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. xxxix, 948. \$8.50.)

THIS distinguished volume in the history of the Army Air Forces describes the final achievement of victory over the Germans. The thesis of the book, in the words of the editors, is that air power did not win the war but that the Allies could not have gained the victory at all without the air ascendancy gained by the AAF and RAF and that the victory was won more rapidly because Anglo-American air power was superior to the German in everything.

Before the Allies could invade the Continent, the German Air Force had to be knocked out, at least to the point where it could not endanger the land forces under Eisenhower. To achieve this objective, the AAF and RAF launched the great project "Pointblank" to destroy the Luftwaffe by attacking the sources in Germany which produced it. Great raids were thrown at air frame and ball-bearing plants deep in Germany, targets of enemy strength which only the Air Forces could strike. In the "Big Week" February 19, 1944, vividly described by contributor Arthur B. Ferguson, over 3,800 bombers from the Eighth and Fifteenth Air Forces dropped almost 10,000 tons of bombs. Finally, the Allies gained their purpose. The GAF suffered "decisive defeat," brought about primarily by attrition of German fighter forces in the air and on the ground and by attacks on German production which vitally delayed the expansion of the German fighter force. Allied air supremacy was won and never lost. After defeating the GAF, the strategic bombers shifted their devastating blows to such targets as oil and transportation, slowly pulverizing Germany's industrial potential.

In the Normandy invasion, the AAF dispatched 8,000 missions on D-Day. Enemy fighter opposition was almost nonexistent. With the air victory already won, the Air Forces devoted their activities to furnishing close support to the

ground troops and to interdicting the battlefield by attacking bridges and railroads and, when these were destroyed, motor transport. The editors label the interdiction program as Air's most important contribution to the offensive and say it was "spectacularly successful." Well they might. As an example of its effectiveness, two German units traveled 1,300 miles by train from Poland to Metz without too much difficulty. But it took them as long to make the 200 miles from Metz to the front as to come from the East. An entry of June 11 in the war diary of the German Seventh Army gloomily stated that all troop movements and supply traffic "must be considered as completely cut off."

Four excellent chapters, written mostly by Albert F. Simpson, discuss air operations in Italy and southern France. They deal with the Anzio beachhead, Rome, the invasion of southern France, and the battle of northern Italy, and are noteworthy for the practical principles for the future they draw from the experiences at the beachhead and in the bombing of Cassino.

On the sometimes disputed issue of the effect of strategic bombing on Germany, the contributors take a moderate but strong stand. John E. Fagg states that by the end of February, 1945, Germany had ceased to be an industrial nation. The destruction of Germany's oil supplies, he says, was particularly decisive. Because of the destruction of Nazi industrial might the Reich was paralyzed and even without the ground invasion could not have continued the war. With the ground invasion, German defeat was quick and certain.

Several chapters in the book deal with "supporting operations." The reviewer found of especial interest the two by Joseph W. Angell called "Crossbow," dealing with the attempts of the Air Forces to demolish the launching sites of the V-1 and V-2 weapons.

Louisiana State University

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

THE FORRESTAL DIARIES. Edited by *Walter Millis*. With the Collaboration of *E. S. Duffield*. (New York: Viking Press. 1951. Pp. xxix, 581. \$5.00.)

FEW men in public life have served their country as intelligently, wisely, and conscientiously as James Forrestal. In high office for almost nine years, he was successively Undersecretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Navy, and finally Secretary of Defense. Not only did he have a high sense of personal integrity, but in a somewhat old-fashioned way he was a patriot who believed his country's interests should be his first concern. These Roman virtues are rare in modern times when so many substitute for them a vague internationalism for whose sake ordinary moral standards can be surrendered.

From the time that Forrestal became Secretary of the Navy in 1944 until shortly before his death in 1949 he dictated memorandums on various conferences that he attended and on conversations that he had had with stimulating people. These notes were intended to be the basis for a book that he would write after he left office. Unfortunately he was never able to fulfill this intention. At his re-

quest these records were transferred to the possession of the White House when he resigned as Secretary of Defense. Now they are published under the editorship of Walter Millis in collaboration with Eugene Duffield as *The Forrestal Diaries*. To make these notes understandable, the editors have supplied a connected interpretative account of political events as Forrestal probably saw them during the period covered by the book.

The task of editing this collection of notes was an unusually difficult one. In a sense it was a salvaging operation. Occasionally in rare but brilliant passages, sometimes with biting wit, Forrestal set down his own thoughts but for the most part he simply recorded other people's comments. To an unusual degree, therefore, the success or failure of the book to express Forrestal's views depended upon the editors. The assignment here, unlike most editorial jobs, was not merely to select material which in itself would present a connected account but rather to provide a framework over which these scattered notes might be draped.

Fortunately the two editors were unusually well qualified for their task. Millis was assistant chief editorial writer for the New York *Herald Tribune*, and had lived and worked in Washington during the period covered by the *Diaries*. Duffield, now associate publisher of the Cincinnati *Inquirer*, was one of Forrestal's principal staff assistants from 1942 to 1947. In that capacity he saw Forrestal many times a day, frequently accompanied him to conferences and read his correspondence as it flowed through the office. Consequently, he had had a good opportunity to know and to understand Forrestal's thoughts.

The *Diaries* contain much of interest to the historian and the political scientist. Comments on President Truman's cabinet meetings, the genesis of the Morgenthau Plan for postwar Germany, and the recognition of Israel are illuminating. Forrestal's brief pen pictures of his colleagues in the administration make interesting reading. Moreover, two great political problems are followed in some detail. The first concerns the breach between the United States and Russia in the postwar period and the second, the unification of the armed forces. Both instances add to Forrestal's stature. His concern about Russian intentions at least a year before they were made a matter of public discussion and his endeavor to induce the President to comment publicly on the deterioration of United States relations with Russia indicated an intelligent analysis of what was to become the principal problem in America's postwar foreign relations. Likewise his approach to the subject of unification of the armed services showed a high degree of statesmanship and absence of emotionalism. Furthermore, Forrestal's concern with these problems and many others of similar nature indicates the close relationship between American foreign policies and national security as well as the important role that a Secretary of Defense can play in formulating foreign policy.

In the opinion of this reviewer Millis and Duffield have succeeded remarkably well in the task they set for themselves. The *Diaries* are a readable, intelligent contribution to history. The editors merit a sincere "well done."

Duke University

ROBERT H. CONNERY

BIRTH OF A WORLD: BOLIVAR IN TERMS OF HIS PEOPLES. By
Waldo Frank. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1951. Pp. xvi, 432. \$5.00.)

THERE are numerous biographies in English of the great South American liberator, Simón Bolívar, of various degrees of excellence. Three of the more important have been published within the past four years, by Gerhard Masur, Salvador de Madariaga, and the writer before us. Masur's biography is by a highly competent, meticulous historical scholar; Madariaga is more man of letters, confident in his prejudices, than historian; Waldo Frank approaches the problem with something of the sweep of a philosopher and the insights of a poet.

Waldo Frank, better than either of his contemporaries, knows at first hand the land and the people of whom he writes, and he recreates in vibrant prose the physical environment in which the Bolivarian epic is cast. The river, the forest, the jungle, or again the Indian, the Negro, and the mestizo, personify in his pages a primitive world of man and nature, of which the Liberator is the destined savior. They supply the backdrop for his spectacular career. The picture we receive of Bolívar himself is at times a bit obscure, at other times illumined by flashes of insight, but the story is everywhere enveloped by a poetic and prophetic fervor which makes it more a rhapsodic invocation than a sober work of history.

Bolívar was born an aristocrat, a native of Venezuela, versatile, magnetic, rhetorical; egotistical, but of great personal charm and dynamic leadership, and of boundless energy and persistence; a vehement son of the tropics, who combined great emotionalism with an intellect of vast powers. Throughout the struggle for independence he sought valiantly to galvanize the inert colonial masses, to make them feel themselves consciously Americans—and this Waldo Frank regards as his "supreme achievement."

As might perhaps be anticipated of a book largely of subjective interpretation, the mere historian finds it replete with exaggerations and obscurities. Some of this may be charged to poetic license. Some of the writer's insights seem far-fetched, his logic is not always clear, and fantasy often takes the place of cool analysis. In spite of an impressive bibliography, a more careful research, or a stricter regard for fact, would have averted many blunders. The book may not be the most appropriate for the uninitiated reader. It will be understood best and most warmly appreciated by those already familiar with the career of the Liberator and its setting.

Waldo Frank has enjoyed in the Hispanic countries a fame far greater than in his own, ever since in the 1920's he appeared before audiences in Buenos Aires and elsewhere extolling the virtues of Hispanic culture at the expense of the crude, capitalistic materialism of the United States. Latin Americans found him a man after their own heart, for here was a North American who confirmed what they had always known to be true. This new book, like some of his earlier volumes, *Virgin Spain* and *America Hispana*, is an eloquent contribution to our understanding of the Hispanic world that the author loves so dearly. It is an

intuitive evocation of Bolívar and his times, a fascinating piece of interpretative literature, rather than sober history. In it the author offers us the most sympathetic and stimulating, if not always the most strictly accurate, presentation of the Liberator in English.

Harvard University

C. H. HARING

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

DAS BILD VOM MENSCHEN IM POLITISCHEN DENKEN NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLIS. By *Lauri Huovinen*. [Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, Tom. 74.2.] (Helsinki, Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 1951, pp. 169.) In any discussion of Machiavelli's political ideas one of the central problems has always been the question of how he conceived of the basic nature of man. The most variegated answers to this question have been given as Dr. Huovinen shows in his very informative bibliographical introduction. In his own investigation of the problem Dr. Huovinen starts with the observation that "Machiavelli's remarks concerning man are characterised by much generalising" (p. 27). His concept of man "did not result from inferences, through progressing, inductively, from the particular to the general, but represents an axiom" (p. 41). In Dr. Huovinen's opinion these "generalisations concerning man prove Machiavelli to be a political thinker because for the new doctrine of the state, which he had in mind, he needed as a basic presupposition a rule which embraces all men and makes it unnecessary in the realm of politics to take into consideration the citizen as an individual, isolated and independent of the state" (pp. 43 f.). Therefore Machiavelli assumed as the basis of his political theory the concept that man is essentially bad. The most interesting point in the treatment of this "*theoretische Menschenbild*" is Dr. Huovinen's observation of the hitherto less emphasized fact that Machiavelli regarded "*ambizione*" as the most powerful impulse in man's life. By stressing so strongly human ambition as "one of the most crucial political factors" (p. 64) Machiavelli developed an idea which was entirely non-Christian (p. 69), as well as different from the ideas of the other Italian humanists (pp. 60 ff.). However, according to Dr. Huovinen, this theoretical concept of man offers only one side of Machiavelli's thought. For he declares that when Machiavelli had to apply his general ideas to concrete questions (e.g., the establishment and the observation of the laws, the active participation of the people in the political life and in the defense of the state, or the questions of morality and education), he fell back upon the opposite concept of the original goodness of man as it had been held by Aristotle and others. Thus Dr. Huovinen finds "an evident contradiction between the theoretical concept of man and its practical application" and states explicitly that "Machiavelli employs two different concepts of man" (p. 102). He does not deny this "lack of consistency which has always rendered difficult the understanding of Machiavelli" (p. 163); but he sees its explanation in "the great Florentine's love of country, so passionate that he sacrificed everything to it" (p. 162). Dr. Huovinen's thesis of "the double-faced aspect of Machiavelli's concept of man" (p. 160) is original and stimulating in many ways, but taken as a whole it seems to raise more questions than provide a really conclusive answer.

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN, *Princeton University*

THEY SAW IT HAPPEN: EYEWITNESS REPORTS OF GREAT EVENTS. Edited by *Louis L. Snyder*, Associate Professor of History, College of the City of New York, and *Richard B. Morris*, Professor of History, Columbia University. (Harrisburg, Pa., Stackpole, 1951, pp. xxv, 445, \$5.00.) This is a companion volume to *A Treasury of Great Reporting*, brought out in 1949 by the same editors. The latter volume was restricted to the writings of modern professional reporters, whereas the present volume covers the period from the battle of Armageddon (1479 B.C.) to the Kefauver crime in-

vestigation (1951) and includes nonprofessional eyewitnesses. All of the accounts included in the present volume were written by persons who were present and, for the most part, recorded their impressions at, or near, the time when the event happened. This volume is different from most source books. It does not include important historical documents or reports of investigations of social, economic, or political conditions. Many of the selections are not easily available elsewhere, and many of them would not be included in the traditional type of source book. The criterion was not so much the relative importance of the incident in history as the importance of the account as an example of good reporting. The volume includes 105 written accounts and 30 illustrations. Each account is preceded by a brief introduction giving the background of the story and important facts regarding the author. The criticism or interpretation of the account is then left to the reader. Although there may be questions in the reader's mind as to why certain accounts were included and others not included, the editors have produced an attractive, interesting, and important volume. The selections are, for the most part, not more than two or three pages in length. This fact adds to its interest for the general reader who can give only short periods to his reading. Moreover, there is great variety in the types of writing which also adds to the interest and value of the volume. Only one error was noted. On page 299 the date 1888 should be 1869.

W. P. SHORTRIDGE, *West Virginia University*

CAPE HORN TO THE PACIFIC: THE RISE AND DECLINE OF AN OCEAN HIGHWAY. By *Raymond A. Rydell*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952, pp. ix, 213, \$4.00.) Although affording as much nasty weather as any major ocean route, the passage around Cape Horn was used extensively by merchantmen, whalers, and men-of-war bound from the United States to various parts of the Pacific from the late eighteenth until the early twentieth century. In the well-proportioned chapters of this book, Professor Raymond A. Rydell of Los Angeles State College describes the uses of this route beginning with the exploring and punitive expeditions of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and continuing through the voyages of fur traders bound for the Northwest Coast and China, hide droghers heading for California, whalers, missionary expeditions for the Pacific islands, ships carrying gold-seekers to California, clippers with cargoes of express freight, and naval vessels, to the sail and steam bulk cargo carriers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The book is an expansion of a doctoral dissertation written at the University of California at Los Angeles and is based on extensive work in libraries on both coasts of the United States. The notes, located in inconvenient fashion at the end of the text, contain much valuable information, as does the impressive bibliography. For a study based on such a rich collection of sources, the 154 pages of text seem surprisingly brief. Although the book is well constructed and written in attractive fashion, the reader finishes with the feeling that some of the chapters do not go much beyond available secondary materials and that the wealth of Mr. Rydell's research is not adequately revealed. The treatment of the period after the California gold rush is especially disappointing. In following ships past the Horn to their ultimate destinations and in pointing out something of the economic, political, and cultural significance of their missions, the author has written what is in some ways a general, albeit incomplete, maritime history of the Pacific Ocean.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE, *Pomona College*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

HELLENISTIC CIVILISATION. By W. W. Tarn, Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Third Edition, revised by the author and G. T. Griffith, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. (London, Edward Arnold; New York, Longmans, Green, 1952, pp. xi, 372, \$4.75.) The first edition (1927) of this book popularized a little-known period for the English reader. In Tarn's hands, the Hellenistic Age (323-30 B.C.) received both a brilliant and a comprehensive treatment: government in Greece, Egypt, and Asia, together with the social and economic background, literature, art, science, philosophy, and religion were covered. A second edition appeared in 1930. Because of the advances in scholarship since that time—excavations and other discoveries, and a vast outpouring of special studies and monographs in many languages—another edition has obviously been needed. In the new preface Tarn says that "while much has been revised, added to, recast, or rewritten in the attempt to get it more nearly up to date, there is also a good deal which has not been altered; it is a new edition, and in no sense a new book." He adds that Griffith has "pulled the labouring oar throughout." I have not compared this edition with its predecessor word for word but rather paragraph for paragraph. Twenty new, or essentially new, paragraphs have been inserted, thirty-five others have new beginnings or endings, and additional changes (often merely stylistic) have been made here and there. The most numerous changes probably occur in the chapters on Asia and Egypt, but chapter VII ("Trade and Exploration") gives a fair sample of the character of the revision as a whole. It is introduced, as well it might be, by this footnote: "The principal work is now Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, which covers the whole field." Far from being "up to date," however, the chapter is practically the same as before; of the chapter's 245 footnotes, only four refer to Rostovtzeff's monumental work (1941). The chief strength of this edition, nevertheless, is the large number of extra references, a very valuable contribution. A "new feature" is the four maps, which are conventional if not poor (the one on page 242 shows three sites without their "box"). The list of general works contains all the titles of the previous edition, except two, adds a dozen new ones, but omits (as does the text) Magie's great and extremely pertinent *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950; Tarn dates his preface to "Midsummer, 1951"). This new edition will be indispensable, because it has no competitor. But what an opportunity Griffith has missed! Here are the three centuries following Alexander's death, 1930 model, set in new type.

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THE THEODOSIAN CODE AND NOVELS AND THE SIRMONDIAN CONSTITUTIONS. A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography by

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Clyde Pharr, in Collaboration with Theresa Sherrer Davidson and Mary Brown Pharr. With an Introduction by C. Dickerman Williams. [The Corpus of Roman Law: A Translation, with Commentary, of all the Source Material of Roman Law, Volume I.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. xxvi, 643, \$20.00.) Do we still believe that our history begins on the banks of Nile and Euphrates? Or does the last meeting of the American Historical Association, at which there was (for the first time in forty years or more, I believe) no session devoted to ancient history, signalize the fact that we have consigned historians of antiquity, along with their subject, to the past? If we continue the current myopic shortening of historical horizons, books like the one here under review are doomed to the arcane limbo of unvisited library stacks. But if we revert to the long view on which we used once to insist, then, since the ancient languages are no longer part of the equipment of the historian, the years ahead of us should call forth a whole series of translations of source materials, produced by the few to meet the need of the many. The Theodosian Code is a compilation and condensation of the constitutions (enactments) of the Roman emperors from Constantine the Great to Theodosius II, or 313-438 A.D. It is a logical choice for the first volume in this projected series, not only because it was the first official codification of Roman imperial law but also because it has never before been translated into any modern language. In this handsome, huge volume, the product of many years' labor with contributions from many hands, the editors have included also the novels (new constitutions) of 438-468 A.D.; the sixteen constitutions of 333-425 discovered and published in 1631 by Jacques Sirmond, ten of which are found in condensed form in the Code; and the record, discovered in 1820, of the meeting of the Roman senate on December 25, 438, at which the completion of the Code was announced and Theodosius was dutifully acclaimed with prolonged and frenzied shouts of adulation. The historian will find here rich material for study or for browsing: Constantine's famous edict of 332 binding the cultivator to the soil, his pronouncements furthering the principle of hereditary occupations, and a host of other familiar and unfamiliar topics, all made accessible by an extensive index. While differences of opinion may exist on points of interpretation or of style—for example, is current idiom really so far removed from Latinity that we need to say Augustuses for Augusti?—the translators have achieved a notable success in providing, with only occasional lapses, a clear and readable version of an original whose legal fullness of expression can lead only too easily to awkward or cumbersome English. This is an achievement in which all who participated may take justifiable pride, and for which all who use the book will be duly grateful.

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Medieval History

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THE MIDDLE AGES IN THE WEST: A STUDY OF EUROPEAN UNITY. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Slessor. (Reprint; London, Hutchinson; New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. 252, \$4.50.) The peoples of western Europe, now being urged to form economic and political union, should consider the bonds that held them together in the Middle Ages. For the materialistic interests that draw them toward unity today do not promise to be as effective as the common religious faith that formerly was the basis of a "common Catholic morality and metaphysic." Although it is unthinkable that modern people could revert to medieval life and mentality, the author believes that they can profit from a survey of medieval society. He does not hesitate to draw conclusions and express his own opinions. Although the "mediaevalist was a democrat" (democracy was born when Urban II made his appeal to "all Christians, high and lowly," at Clermont), the church had the right to maintain uniformity of belief. "If the Church is truly the appointed means to redeem mankind, then the work of Gregory [VII] was of almost supernatural importance, for never, since his time, have the devout hesitated to put obedience to the Church and God's Vicar (as they hold) far above all territorial, racial or political claims to their allegiance" (p. 72). It was the function of the church "to guide the secular powers into the way of peace." By the late thirteenth century the leadership of the church began to fail. The author seems to blame the people for repudiating the Augustinian ideal. "Men turned their attention and their energies to secular values," and the "papal religious cultural unity" of the Middle Ages disintegrated. "A rejection of corporate action in religion, following from repudiation of the Pope and Church, produced, first the Reformation, and, then, in search of new authority, a complete submission to national kings, in its turn engendering revolution and, finally, scepticism and the triumph of plutocracy; to be contested in our day by Communism, its antidote" (p. 144). Such samples of his opinions, certainly indicate that Sir Henry Slessor's "Christian traditionalism" must be in sympathy with the Catholic plans for a "Christian Europe."

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BREVIA PLACITATA. Edited for the Selden Society by G. J. Turner, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Completed with additions by Theodore F. T. Plucknett, Professor of Legal History in the University of London. [Publications of the Selden Society, Volume LXVI, for the year 1947.] (London, the Society, 1951, pp. clvii, 239,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

£3 13s. 6d.) Before the accession of Edward I there were two distinct kinds of legal literature in England, the treatise deriving from the example of the civil and canon law jurists, and the textbook or manual of instruction based on the "case method" and coming "straight from the class-room" (p. 195). *Brevia Placitata* (or *Pleez en Franceys*, as one of the better manuscripts is entitled), whose original version dates from ca. 1260 and is closely related to the contemporary tracts known as *La Court de Baron* and *Le Ple de la Coroune*, is a textbook for beginners consisting of precedents for pleading in the royal courts. It consists of a collection of writs, each of which is followed by a formal encouplement or count and by a formal defense, plus occasional notes and explanations. In an age of rapidly changing law, it is not surprising that so useful a work should have been revised as the law changed, and be preserved in a large number of manuscripts in several different versions, whose complex relations are indicated in the introduction. No less interesting is the history of the present edition, announced as "in preparation" for the Selden Society in 1892, referred to by Woodbine as "in press" in 1910, partly printed and partly in proof by 1938, and finally completed with additional matter by Professor Plucknett. This delay in the appearance of an important text may, in part, be explained by the tentative nature of some of the views expressed in a long and valuable introduction in two parts which the late G. J. Turner left complete but not in final form. In the first, the editor has discussed the bearing of the tract on legal history, especially the jurisdiction of courts and the history of procedure by writ; the second provides a detailed commentary on the writs and pleadings of the tract itself, which is as instructive for the modern student of legal history as was the text for the contemporary law student. It is interesting that the "little writ of right close" does not appear in the earlier versions of the compilation, and that the precedents based on this writ and on the writ of naifty are silent about ancient demesne as distinct from any other royal manor, a fact which underlines the other evidence (e.g., p. 201) that textbooks—then as now—are so often out of date as soon as they appear. The statement that writs initiating proceedings in the Common Bench might be addressed to "bailiffs in the ancient demesnes of the crown" (p. xliii) is inaccurate. The only writ so addressed initiated proceedings in the court of a royal manor (whether ancient demesne or not). The index (perhaps the most important part of a volume published today in law French without translation) is adequate and useful, but not wholly accurate or complete (e.g., under "ancient demesne" add p. xliii, omit p. 82; under "Statute of Marlborough" p. 209 should be p. 201). ROBERT S. HOYT, *State University of Iowa*

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson¹

A PROSPECT OF GRAY'S INN. By *Francis Cowper*, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. (London, Stevens and Sons, 1951, pp. xiii, 187, \$7.75.) This scholarly and charming little volume traces the story from the beginnings to the present of one of the four great Inns of Court—"at once a legal university and an autonomous professional organization unique in Christendom." The book appears appropriately in the year that will see the completion and opening of the new hall, to replace that destroyed during the war. The characterization of successive eras is acute, even brilliant. "I have tried," the author says, "to present the prospect or landscape of the Inn at each period of its development within the framework of its surroundings . . ."; to combine three aspects—biography, architecture, and "the changing structure of the legal profession" (p. x). Thus architecture includes not only building in various styles on the property of the Inn but the expansion of London around it. Legal training is most effectively depicted in the exuberant dramatic age of the Tudors and early Stuarts when the Inns of Court were really law schools (chaps. II and III, "Life with the Lawyers" and "Masques and Revels"). Less is said of the later period when, instead of readings and moots, "legal education gradually went underground into the private study where personal contact in chambers transformed the law into an esoteric art secretly acquired" (p. 74). Standards were relaxed in the era of "the world of the man of taste" and "the world of the man of business," as even less hostile critics than William Cobbett and Charles Dickens admitted. The twentieth-century revival and postwar reconstruction permit a happy conclusion, with emphasis on the need to safeguard the concept of freedom under the rule of law. Not least, of course, are the tributes to the many notables of the society, intellectual ancestors of the author. To cite only a few: William Gascoigne, Henry IV's chief justice, "legendary pattern of judicial intrepidity"; Elizabeth's councillor, the great Lord Burghley; Francis Bacon, a bencher at twenty-five, who served his Inn as "a young philosopher with very clear and detailed opinions on the subject of landscape gardens" (p. 11); the eminent Sir John Holt, lord chief justice, 1689-1710; Samuel Romilly, advocate of criminal law reform; John Holker, attorney-general in Disraeli's government, whose estate

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

made possible an addition to the library; and such twentieth-century notables as Lord Birkenhead and Timothy Healy. An appendix, "Some Links with the United States of America," lists barristers who served in the colonies, such as Sir Francis Wyatt, governor of Virginia, 1621-26, and William Attwood, chief justice of New York, 1701-1702. There are some attractive illustrations and an adequate bibliography. Readers will likely agree with the foreword by the Honorable Sir William McNair that "Gray's Inn has been fortunate in her historians and Francis Cowper's book is worthy to take its place with Fortescue and Douthwaite" (p. vii).

FAITH THOMPSON, *University of Minnesota*

TORCHBEARER OF FREEDOM: THE INFLUENCE OF RICHARD PRICE ON EIGHTEENTH CENTURY THOUGHT. By *Carl B. Cone*. (Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1952, pp. 209, \$3.75.) Richard Price (1723-1791) was an internationally known figure of the eighteenth century who has since been lost sight of except by a few scholars. He was a dissenting preacher who traveled far from the rigid Calvinism of his Welsh ancestors. He was a mild, gentle soul whose first book, published in 1758, dealt with ethical problems and has been hailed by modern scholars as one of the best of its kind. An early interest in mathematics led him to the study of population and mortality tables; his writings in this field helped lay the foundations for life insurance. His studies of the British national debt had wide influence. In 1778, the Continental Congress offered him American citizenship and asked him to move to America to advise Congress on the problems of the public debt. However, he stayed in England, and, during the 1780's, advised the younger Pitt on the handling of the British debt. Price was involved in some of the most heated political and economic controversies of his time. His greatest contemporary fame was the result of his ardent support of the American and French Revolutions. His *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* . . . , published in February, 1776, ranked him along with Thomas Paine in the eyes of Americans and at least thirty-five pamphlets were written in England to denounce it. In 1784, his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution* . . . was greeted warmly by Americans who wanted a stronger central government. Of its influence in America, Cone wisely says that it was effective "because it emphasized ideas already held by Americans." In England, Price continued to work for political reform. He hailed the French Revolution as the next step in the progress of mankind which had been begun by the American Revolution. He was bitterly denounced by men like Edmund Burke, and perhaps only his death in 1791 saved him from the fate of other English radicals of the time. Professor Cone uses materials not to be found in the two previous studies of Price, written in England. It should do much to put Price back where he belongs as an important and lovable figure among the eighteenth-century leaders who sought to better the lot of mankind.

MERRILL JENSEN, *University of Wisconsin*

THE CODRINGTON CORRESPONDENCE, 1743-1851. By *Robson Lowe*. (London, Robson Lowe, 1951, pp. viii, 112, xii, plates, \$3.00.) A few years ago some five hundred letters, sent mostly from Antigua or Barbuda to members in England of the Codrington family of West India fame, were found in the family mansion at Dodington. They dated between 1743 and 1851, but about three quarters were written after the years of the War for American Independence. The letters had considerable value for the historian of the Codrington plantations or of the West Indies in general. They had even greater value for the philatelist, since they abounded in hand struck "ship letter" stamps and "provisionals" and "colonials" from Antigua and other islands. None had stamps from Barbuda, but some were unique or earlier than anything pre-

viously known in their type. They were inevitably priced as a collection completely out of the reach of historians, when offered to at least one American library, and the collection has been broken up for sale to stamp collectors. Fortunately, the scholarly author of this record—which is not the sale catalogue—has historically in addition to being one of the foremost British stamp experts, and he has tried with obvious sincerity and intelligence to preserve some of the textual value of the letters listed in this book, while emphasizing philatelic detail. (Several chapters deal solely with relevant aspects of postal history, but will not be reviewed.) There are good indexes. The greatest “new” value would be for the historian of the little discussed island of Barbuda, a sort of Codrington fief from 1680 to nearly the end of the nineteenth century, except that letters upon Barbuda are unusually scantily described. Historians of other islands can glean more useful scraps. Whether the “mere historian” will honor the author for his intentions, or be tantalized into philateli-phobia remains a question. The textual material is about like that of a small catalogue of autographs or manuscripts which extracts or abstracts some valuable details but often mentions only that data exist, and of course leaves one wondering what was the principle of selection. This reviewer belongs to the “honor . . . his intentions” school, but hopes that in any future such case, a microfilm record may be made for deposit in a major library before the collection is dispersed. Such action would in no way impair the commercial value for philatelists, and should fully satisfy the historian.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY, *University of California at Los Angeles*

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DAVID SCOTT, DIRECTOR AND CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, RELATING TO INDIAN AFFAIRS, 1787-1805. Volume I, 1787-1799. Volume II, 1800-1805. Edited by C. H. Philips. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXXV.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1951, pp. xxviii, 228; xii, 229-458.) These volumes will be useful to scholars of advanced research in the period 1787-1805 in British Indian topics, English patronage, and rotten borough politics, and British reactions to the French Revolution and the career of Napoleon. Students interested in the careers of Henry Dundas of the India Board, Lord Wellesley, the governor general of India, or Jonathan Duncan, the governor of Bombay, will find it worth while to read this correspondence. The editor's introduction supplies a brief analysis of the career of David Scott, but the whole collection of 477 letters becomes more intelligible if used in conjunction with the editor's book, published in 1940, entitled *The East India Company, 1784-1834*. Upon perusing the letters, of which at least two thirds relate to patronage by which Scott saw to it that his relatives and nearest political friends and their friends were well placed in East India Company positions, it is difficult to accept the editor's description of Scott as a “fine humanitarian” (p. ix) or to see why he “deserves a place beside the acknowledged makers of British India and Britain herself” (p. ix). The correspondence between Scott and Wellesley, which, as a rule, includes the longest letters in the collection, were of greatest interest to the reviewer, since they clearly indicate why Wellesley was able to keep the College of Fort William in operation for so long despite orders to the contrary from the court of directors. The same basic reasons apply to Wellesley's imperialism, namely, that Scott pulled the strings in the India Board and in Parliament to encourage Wellesley secretly to carry on as he did in opposition to express orders from the court. To Wellesley, the College of Fort William was all important. “The College must stand or the Empire must fall” (Letter 425). Initial annoyance at discovering error of citation in sixty-nine per cent of the cross references from the introduction to the letters presently gives way to a sporting mood when one learns that the inaccurate citations are in half their number but one letter and in the other

half two letters removed from the actual letter cited. Scott's dullness of composition and his addiction to the solecism "you was" represent other mild hardships to the reader.

ELMER H. CUTTS, *Northeastern University*

THE LETTERS OF PRIVATE WHEELER. Edited and with a Foreword by Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1952, pp. viii, 342, \$3.75.) This volume constitutes one of the rare accounts of life in the ranks of the British army during the early nineteenth century. Wheeler enlisted in the regulars in 1809 and was invalided from the service in 1828. He had little education, but he had read the Bible and Shakespeare, and his writing is distinctive. He was the dependable infantryman whose martial achievements have received scant praise. He was well aware of the fact that he was participating in campaigns of historic significance, and he measured the humble and the great with a sharp eye for good soldiership—whether the man was a corporal or "Old Nosey" himself, the duke of Wellington. Wheeler's service covered the Walcheren Expedition, the Peninsular War, and the Battle of Waterloo. The gallantry of "the forlorn hope" or "point" in an assault, the horrors of the battlefield, and the greater horrors of the hospital all come alive in these vivid letters. Most of the letters concern the struggle against Napoleon's armies. But the later letters depict garrison life in the Grecian Isles. His descriptions of the religious ceremonies of the peoples of Malta, Corfu, and other islands are written with zest. Certainly, the most interesting aspect of Wheeler's letters is his cheerfulness in the face of a system of barbarous discipline where punishments of five hundred lashes are accepted. Yet the author of these letters was not blind to the tragedies inherent in the life. Witness the following written in 1813: "I have often been tickled in reading the General despatches of the Army, when some Lord or General or Colonel has been killed or wounded. Fame takes her trumpet and sounds it through the world that . . . Lord A—— fell in the moment of achieving some great exploit . . . Or that Colonel C—— of the General Staff of the Army had received a severe wound (Scratch, it should have been). . . . But who shall record the glorious deeds of the soldier whose lot is numbered with the thousands in the ranks who live and fight and die in obscurity." Fortunately, the brave deeds are chronicled in these letters.

ANTHONY HARRIGAN, *University of Florida*

ERNEST JONES, CHARTIST: SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF ERNEST JONES. Introduction and Notes by John Saville, Lecturer in Economic History in the University College of Hull. (London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1952, pp. 284, 25s.) The writings and speeches here published have been brought together for the first time. Ernest Jones, one of the pioneers of English socialism, was a young lawyer of upper-class background who joined the Chartist movement in 1846 and rapidly won a position of importance among the more militant leaders. For a dozen years, he engaged in the agitation for the Charter, preaching "class against class," land nationalization, and similar radical doctrines. After the 1848 fiasco, he endured imprisonment, poverty, and calumny in his efforts to keep the movement alive. "He was the only *educated* Englishman among the politicians who was, at bottom, entirely on our side." So wrote Friedrich Engels to Karl Marx in 1869, on learning of Jones's death. Saville has selected the Chartist leader's representative writings and speeches, arranged them under topical headings, and prefaced them with helpful explanations. He has also provided a lengthy and valuable biographical introduction and notes which throw additional light on Jones's personality and thinking. Among other items, the notes contain pertinent extracts from the Marx-Engels correspondence and a critical analysis of Jones's treatment by the con-

temporary Chartist historian R. G. Gammage (whose *History of the Chartist Movement* was written after a bitter quarrel between the author and Jones). A detailed bibliography and a carefully compiled index are also included. This study is extremely well done and should prove of interest to students of nineteenth-century English working-class history.

SYDNEY H. ZEBEL, *Rutgers University*

ARCHIVES YEAR BOOK FOR SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. Fourteenth Year (1951), Volume I. Edited by *Coenraad Beyers*, Chief Archivist for the Union, *et al.* Published by Authority of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science. (Cape Town, Cape Times for Government Printer, 1951, pp. xi, 395.) In this volume is published a dissertation by T. S. Van Rooyen for the D.Phil. degree at the University of Pretoria. The dissertation is entitled "Die Verhoudinge Tussen die Boere, Engelse en Naturelle in die Geskiedenis van die Oos-Transvaal tot 1882." It relates the story of boundary disputes, trade in arms, missionary activities, native wars, the British annexation of the Transvaal, 1877, and the war of liberation, 1880-81. Among the new material offered a considerable portion relates to the activities of Dr. Alexander Merensky, a representative of the Berlin Missionary Society, who at one time seems to have acted as an adviser to the native chief Sikukuni. The author has made good use of South African sources and he presents an impressive bibliography of other material, but it is not clear to what extent all this has been used. He writes with a strong nationalistic bias which affects his interpretation of sources and detracts from the value of his work as a contribution to South African history.

PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

A CENTURY OF BRITISH MONARCHY. By *Hector Bolitho*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1951, pp. xii, 274, \$6.00.) It happens that this review is being written on the day, February 6, on which King George VI died, and tonight Queen Elizabeth II is winging her way back to London from Kenya, where she received the news on her royal journey toward Ceylon, Australia, and New Zealand. Already the traditional and stately procedures accompanying the accession of a new monarch have been put in train, not only in London but, in their adapted forms, in each of the capitals of the nations of the Commonwealth. What brings this globe-encircling response of loyalty? Certainly no breath of compulsion, but an unhesitating impulse transcending many differences, political, economic, and cultural, in a world-wide and voluntary association of free peoples. No less significant are the tributes of undoubted sincerity which have poured through press and radio from many countries and people of all classes. These are but vivid reminders of the British monarchy's deep, historical, and contemporary significance. In our own day this significance has increased immeasurably. The monarchy has become not only a link in the free association of the Commonwealth but, paradoxically some may say, a symbol of democracy itself, and it is altogether possible that its significance may rise still more with the continuing development of rapid transportation and the means of mass communication. These indefinable resources of influence rest in the hands of the British royal family, a fact which has become strikingly apparent during the past century, and an intimate view of the way in which the royal family approaches and performs its heavy task is therefore necessary to any understanding of the institution. Mr. Bolitho's book is a useful introduction, enlivened and illustrated with comment and anecdote drawn from a personal knowledge and experience which few writers could rival. It is regrettable that he has chosen to treat his book, to some extent, as a kind of literary exercise in which are mixed invention and factual narrative. The fourth part "Victoria and Disraeli" is in twenty-seven scenes of dramatic dialogue;

the reign of Edward VII is described in a series of quotations from the diaries of an imaginary assistant secretary. The statement that such parts of the book are based on a knowledge of documents and actual incidents does not save one's annoyance. For this reader the straightforward and presumably more authoritative section on George VI proves that Mr. Bolitho erred in not trying to do the same thing with the other parts of the book. His account of the late king is not only a circumstantial appraisal but a sincere and convincing tribute.

GEORGE W. BROWN, *University of Toronto*

WINSTON CHURCHILL, 1874-1951. By *Lewis Broad*. (3d ed.; New York, Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. xx, 611, \$6.00.) This bulky work of British printing first appeared in 1941. A new edition in 1946 carried the account of Mr. Churchill's career through the years of the Second World War and down to his defeat in the general election of 1945. The present edition takes the story to the end of 1950. These dates of publication prevent one from calling it a campaign biography—even if such an institution was known to British practice. It has, however, many of the marks of one. It is a breezy and generally accurate narrative, suffering much from foreshortening. Of the inwardness of events, and the growth of the character and ideas of its subject, it has nothing to say. Though apparently full, it is curiously lacking in detail. The years of the Second World War occupy almost half the book, the years since claim fifty pages. The book's bulk is partly to be ascribed to the very lengthy quotations from Churchill's speeches, particularly those made while he was Prime Minister during the war. Quotations from Churchill and from other writers of memoirs of the period are, indeed, frequent throughout the book—which is, however, lacking in systematic citations. It makes no use of Churchill's own volumes on the Second World War. Mr. Broad expresses (p. vi) the belief that he has "contrived to scratch my name on the wrappings of Winston Churchill's immortality." It may be doubted whether he has done so.

C. L. MOWAT, *University of Chicago*

BRITAIN TODAY: A REVIEW OF CURRENT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TRENDS. By *C. F. O. Clarke*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. 248, \$3.00.) This volume of the Lowell Lectures for 1950 presents socialist Britain to an American audience with much insight and great fairness. The author, who represents the best in British journalism and radio and who is an excellent unofficial ambassador, ranges from parliamentary procedure to foreign policy and from the English character to the Commonwealth, with appropriate sections on parties, politicians, planning, and the press. He writes with objectivity and grace. No partisan feelings, no rigid theories, no dry statistics mar his pages. One may question whether it is possible really to convey the intractability of the problem of balancing foreign payments or the depressing nature of continued austerity with such a calm mind and in such urbane prose. Yet the fact that it should be attempted is, in itself, one of the characteristics of Britain today. Future historians, if they turn to Mr. Clarke's lectures, may well see in them an index of the British temper in 1950 as well as a useful description of British society.

FRANCIS H. HERRICK, *Mills College*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

LES PRINCIPES INSPIRATEURS DE MICHELET: SENSIBILITÉ ET PHILOSOPHIE DE L'HISTOIRE. By Oscar A. Haac, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Pennsylvania State College. [Institut d'études françaises de Yale University.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1951, pp. viii, 242, \$2.00.) Professor Haac is a harbinger of good news. Michelet's manuscripts, divided after his death between his widow and his stepson, have been recently (1949) brought together and are now available to historians in the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris. The *Journal intime*, the seals of which were not to be broken until 1950, is now open to qualified workers in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France. Interest in Michelet, which had dwindled after the death of Gabriel Monod, has been revived in France; several dissertations are in preparation and J. P. Sartre has renewed the old controversies in an article published in *Les temps modernes*. Unless this reviewer is badly informed, however, Professor Haac's book is the first general study of Michelet to be undertaken since the publication of Miss Ann Pugh's *Michelet and His Ideas of Social Reform* (New York, 1923). It is a far more ambitious project although the two works have much in common. Literature has been defined as "life seen through a temperament." This definition slightly modified would fit exactly the historical works of Jules Michelet as well as his later semiphilosophical productions. In this regard, the subtitle of Mr. Haac's study, "sensibilité et philosophie de l'histoire," is much more appropriate than the main title. Six "principles" are listed by the author: (1) justice and the French Revolution; (2) "Patrie" and the society of mankind; (3) Christianity and a new faith; (4) the liberty of the people; (5) action and vision of the future; (6) integral resurrection of the past. Mr. Haac's thesis is that those "principes inspireurs" can be traced through Michelet's earlier works and that they received their full development in the later works published or written after 1850, a period of Michelet's life left unstudied by Gabriel Monod and unjustly neglected by most biographers of the great historian. One may note particularly the discussion of number 2, in which Michelet appears as a child of Romanticism, and more especially the new and original interpretation of the often misunderstood "resurrection of the past." It must not be taken as a "lyrical vision," comparable to Victor Hugo's *Légende des siècles*, but as an expression of the author's faith in action and in the future since in resurrecting the past, Michelet strives to demonstrate "the ideological and contemporary importance of past ages." In the chapters following this first part, the author has

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

studied in the light of these principles "La philosophie de l'histoire" and "La méthode historique" not hesitating to show how Michelet's synthetic views and judgments were warped and colored by his feelings. The final chapter presents an excellent summing up and a sharply drawn portrait of a great writer and a tremendous worker who refused to be an impartial historian and often chose to speak as a prophet and the passionate herald of the future. A very interesting chapter, full of information, analyzes Michelet's attitude toward contemporary historians. The "Indications sur Michelet et Ranke" could easily have been extended into a full chapter and perhaps a separate study. The book ends with a useful chronology of Michelet's life and works.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes

LA MISSION EXTRAORDINAIRE DU MARQUIS DE TORCY EN DANEMARK-NORVÈGE ET SON VOYAGE EN SUÈDE D'APRÈS LA CORRESPONDANCE DIPLOMATIQUE. 1685. By Jean Marchand, Correspondant de l'Institut, Bibliothécaire à l'Assemblée Nationale. Préface de Monsieur le Président Robert Schuman, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nordique, 1951, pp. viii, 137.)

When Louis XIV learned in 1685 of the death of Sophia Amalia, the Danish queen-mother, he sent the young marquis de Torcy of the influential Colbert family to express his condolences. This mark of esteem, heretofore reserved for the courts of Madrid and London, was intended to strengthen diplomatic ties with the North. The young envoy was to report on a variety of Danish matters—political, economic, military. De Torcy sent home a number of letters and summarized his impressions in a longer *compte rendu*. There was a conscientious air about his reporting though one not marked by profundity. In similar fashion he reported on a side trip into Sweden which took him to Stockholm. Clearly his impressions of what he saw in Denmark (and southern Norway) were more favorable than those he gained of the court and the realm of Charles XI—and the policy of *reduktion*. Marchand as editor has supplied brief connecting remarks to facilitate the passage from letter to letter. He has con-

tributed also a nine-page introduction, devoted partly to de Torcy's career (a subject treated by him earlier in *La Revue de Paris*, May-June, 1930, pp. 911-31) and partly to a survey of Scandinavian history from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The latter is too sketchy to be helpful here and might advantageously have been sacrificed in favor of a brief description of North European diplomacy in the 1670's and 1680's, giving particular attention to Louis' relations with the two northern courts. In connection with de Torcy's mission Louis' diplomats were for a time exercised over a matter of etiquette. The Danish king made known that he would receive envoys "*assis et couvert*" (as was reported the procedure at the court in London). No one in the diplomatic corps in Copenhagen wanted to be the first to be thus received. It took the combined efforts of half a dozen diplomats serving the Sun King finally to bring about de Torcy's audience in the traditional manner, though under somewhat unusual circumstances. A way out was found when the Danish king left Copenhagen (and the diplomatic corps accredited to him) and paid a visit to his second kingdom, Norway. As he finished this visit at the port of Larvik he received de Torcy "*debout et sans chapeau*." Louis' envoys were content. This phase of the correspondence is a tidbit for the connoisseur of seventeenth-century diplomatic etiquette.

O.J.F.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

*Ernst Posner*¹

IMPERIALISMUS VOR 1914: SOZIOLOGISCHE DARSTELLUNG DER DEUTSCHEN AUSSENPOLITIK BIS ZUM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By *George W. F. Hallgarten*. In two volumes. (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1951, pp. xx, 561; vii, 505, DM 65.) These solid and scholarly two volumes were reviewed in manuscript form in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1940 (XLVI, 142). The explanation of this unusual procedure is that the author, unable to find a publisher, produced a small volume in hard covers and deposited reproductions of the full text in a half-dozen libraries. One of these was Harvard, and Professor Langer took advantage of this and reviewed the 1,731-page, typewritten copy. Now at long last, a German publisher has made available to all libraries and all scholars this excellent study. It is perhaps enough here to recall the almost unstinted praise given the work earlier as "a contribution to recent Germany history of absolutely first-rate importance which no student of either domestic or international history can afford to ignore." G.S.F.

ERINNERUNGEN EINES REICHSTAGSPRÄSIDENTEN. By *Paul Löbe*. (Berlin-Grunewald, Arani, 1949, pp. 173.) Löbe, one of the best-known leaders of the German Social Democrats in the Weimar period, for all but two years of the Republic presided over its Reichstag. Nearing eighty today, he is once again prominent in the leadership of his resurrected party. Though his publishers claim to be presenting "a significant contribution to the history of the young democracy before 1933," the author himself describes his memoirs modestly as an "unpretentious collection of personal reminiscences," and the content bears him out. In no way a companion volume to the far more comprehensive and politically astute memoirs of Stampfer, Braun, and Severing, the little book is above all a character sketch of an unsophisticated, life-long German socialist, whose loyalty to his party was rewarded with high office, and, as such, it is an interesting contribution toward an understanding of Weimar Social Democracy and its leadership. In writing the book, Löbe explains, he had to rely upon his memory, all his personal papers having been destroyed in an air raid during the war. While it serves him well enough in recounting episodes of his youth and anecdotes from the life of the "Reichstagspräsident," it fails him unfortunately all too frequently in regard to important political developments in which he and his party were involved. Thus it is regrettable that Löbe does not explain his part in the efforts to maintain a legal position for the Social Democrats after Hitler came to power, a role for which he was bitterly criticized at the time, even by members of his own party. He recalls that "in spite of all the evidence," he "found it difficult to believe" that the Nazis had actually set fire to the Reichstag and recounts his unsuccessful negotiations with Göring and the Gestapo for the release of arrested Social Democrats and the reappearance of the prohibited party publications. We do not learn what prompted a rump delegation of Social Democrats to lend support to Hitler's foreign policy address in the Reichstag on May 17, 1933. Löbe, who refused to go into exile, was arrested when the Social Democratic party was finally outlawed in June, 1933. Released after a short time, he lived in retirement on a state pension, restored to him retroactive to 1933 as a result of a rather amiable interview with Göring. Rearrested

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

in 1944 in connection with the unsuccessful plot to assassinate Hitler, he appears to have played at best a very minor role in the conspiracy. The credo which concludes the book reflects Löbe's idealistic faith in the perfectibility of man and the ultimate triumph of a socialism rooted far more in the ethics of Kant than the materialism of Marx.

LEWIS J. EDINGER, *Vassar College*

MASTER SPY: THE INCREDIBLE STORY OF ADMIRAL WILHELM CANARIS, WHO, WHILE HITLER'S CHIEF OF INTELLIGENCE, WAS A SECRET ALLY OF THE BRITISH. By *Ian Colvin*. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1951, pp. viii, 286, \$3.50.) Mr. Colvin has undertaken to tell, for the Nazi period, the secret history of the German *Abwehr* or intelligence service and its enigmatic chief, Admiral Wilhelm Canaris. In this endeavor he could not avail himself of Canaris' own diary, which was destroyed. He could, however, draw on reports he himself had heard from 1933 to 1938 as Berlin correspondent for the London *News Chronicle*, on several printed works including Karl Abshagen's German biography of Canaris, and on interviews with surviving associates or subordinates of the admiral. The result is a highly colored, not to say sensational, account of how Hitler's intelligence chief sought contact with the British in 1938, warned the Belgians and Norwegians of impending invasion, labored to minimize Spanish and Hungarian contributions to the Nazi war effort, opposed Hitler's plans for assassinating General Giraud and Prime Minister Churchill, spread defeatism through his own organization while thwarting Himmler's security service, and finally was executed in the aftermath of the anti-Hitler putsch attempt of July 20, 1944. "The readers," writes Mr. Colvin, "will have to judge for themselves whether Admiral Wilhelm Canaris was a German patriot or a British spy, a European statesman or a cosmopolitan intriguer, a double agent, an opportunist, or a seer. It will not be easy for them to make up their minds" (p. 3). Be that as it may, Mr. Colvin's own mind seems made up. While admitting that the admiral's peculiar blend of brilliance and eccentricity, subtlety and indiscretion practically defies analysis, the author goes on to adduce every shred of proof that, beginning in 1938, the *Abwehr* director sought consistently and for idealistic motives to sabotage German strategy. The manner in which Mr. Colvin presents his case is irritating in several respects. The narrative is undisciplined, weaving back and forth in time with little apparent reason and burdened with numerous digressions on espionage activities in general, whether closely related to Canaris or not. This lack of discipline also appears in the light-hearted jumbling of evidence, some of it quite important, some of its exceedingly dubious. Thus Hitler is quoted as saying to Martin Bormann, as the two strolled through the corridors of the shelter under the Reich chancellery in 1943: "I wonder how that little outfit of Admiral Canaris is doing. . . . I don't seem to have heard anything from him for a long time" (p. 220). Just what, one wonders, is the source for that bit of verbatim documentation? Mr. Colvin recounts anecdotes with the experienced journalist's lively interest in detail, but his book should not be confused with a critical study such as Trevor-Roper's *The Last Days of Hitler*. That Canaris was one of the most complex figures in Hitler's regime is well-known. That he indulged in activities which were treasonable from the Nazis' point of view has been established by a mass of testimony. Mr. Colvin, however, for all his investigations, has little to add that could be called both new and reliable. He seems most anxious to prove that the prolongation of the holocaust of 1939-1945 was the joint responsibility of Nazi fanatics and certain (presumably leftist) British officials who would not co-operate with the German anti-Nazis because "a revolt from above did not accord at all with their ideas of the future of a socialist Europe" (p. 176). Other obstacles to such co-operation are mentioned but not weighted very heavily. Mr. Colvin has a

perfect right to his political views. Nevertheless, to make Admiral Canaris, Ewald von Kleist-Schmenzin, General Franco, and Admiral Horthy the heroes-in-waiting of World War II would demand a rewriting of the history of the last two decades scarcely justified by the data here presented. FRANKLIN L. FORD, *Bennington College*

THE RISE AND FALL OF HERMANN GOERING. By *Willi Frischauer*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1951, pp. x, 309, \$3.50.) This is a popular biography, designed to convey to the general public an appreciation of the tragicomic *Reichsmarschall*. Its strength is in its anecdotal richness, not in its analytic power. Frischauer has concentrated upon Göring as a personality and has based his account largely on interviews with those who lived closest to his subject: Emmy Göring, Generals Bodenschatz and Koller of the *Luftwaffe*, and Robert Kropp, Göring's valet. The author has little critical distance from his interviewees and makes little use of the voluminous documentary sources now available. Except for the last few chapters, the book is loosely constructed. In most of the chapters, only a few pages discuss the topic proclaimed in the chapter-head, while the reader is led on through an unorganized jungle of episodes. It was not Frischauer's intention to write a political biography. He leaves untouched the major problems of Göring's impact on German history: e.g., the nature and extent of Göring's power as economic czar, or the degree to which he served as a counterforce to Ribbentrop in the sphere of foreign affairs. Through his discussion of Göring's personality changes, however, Frischauer does throw some oblique light on Göring's political role. It emerges that Göring was too unstable to control the areas of authority which Hitler consigned to him. Even in the direction of the *Luftwaffe*, Göring's sporadic exercise of his command was interrupted by long periods of inactivity and indifference. Unlike Speer or Goebbels, Göring made no continuous effort to wield power in any sphere. Weak-willed but headstrong, the insecure and unstable Göring embodied the irrational side of the Nazi movement to such a degree that he was incapable of any sustained effort as an administrator. Frischauer's book is an invitation to the historian to make a more thorough search for the real locus of power in the Nazi state and administration. CARL E. SCHORSKE, *Wesleyan University*

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Gaudens Megaro

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

*Sergius Yakobson*¹

PETER THE GREAT AND THE EMERGENCE OF RUSSIA. By B. H. Sumner, Warden of All Souls College, Oxford. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (London, English Universities Press, 1950, pp. viii, 216, 5s.) B. H. Sumner died in April, 1951; before his death he was able to complete two studies on Peter the Great: a monograph on his relations with the Ottoman Empire and a volume covering all phases of his life and activity. This volume, though brief and not pretending to be "an adequate biography of Peter" which, as Sumner regretfully states (p. 210), does not yet exist, is a masterpiece of condensation. Obviously indebted to the works of Kliuchevsky (*History of Russia*, IV, English translation, London, 1926), E. Schuyler (*Peter the Great*, New York, 1884), and K. Stählin (*Geschichte Russlands*, II, Berlin, 1930), Sumner's book contains many well-balanced judgments based on careful study of the original sources and the writings of contemporaries. Peter the Great is seen as "above all a great man of action, not a thinker or a planner; he never evolved any clearly defined policy of westernization" (p. 208). Despite the expressed admiration of his restless energy and his capacity to learn from his defeats, the barbaric features of his character are properly emphasized, for example, his cunning and cruel destruction of his son Alexis. Sumner's endeavor to relate Peter the Great's policies to the changes in the European balance of power game as well as to describe their place in Russian history merits special praise. The complexities of this apparently primitive autocrat, ruthlessly liquidating many traditions and inherited institutions, are not overlooked. It is shown that Peter the Great did not begin but only accelerated the trend of westernization; it

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

is pointed out that he remained a Russian nationalist, despite his use of foreign experts and technicians and despite the introduction of the Baltic German element into the bureaucracy of his empire. The failure of his Turkish policies as well the significance of its basic trends for the future are clearly analyzed. Sumner pays particular attention to the interconnections of Peter's foreign and domestic policies. Though he is aware of attempts to compare Peter the Great's policies with those of Stalin—he says that Alexei Tolstoi's *Peter the Great*, devoted to such a comparison, is "well worth reading" (p. 210)—he meticulously avoids all questionable parallelisms between Russia's past and the Soviet regime. Peter's so-called testament, which is cited again today as a document describing Russian imperialism, is dismissed as "concocted originally by Napoleon's propagandists, probably on the basis of a somewhat earlier analysis made by an émigré Pole. On the other hand it is true that Peter initiated policies towards Poland, Sweden, and Turkey which his successors systematically developed" (p. 138).

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Far Eastern History

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THE CHRONICLE OF THE THREE KINGDOMS (220-265): CHAPTERS 69-78 FROM THE TZŪ CHIH T'UNG CHIEN OF SSU-MA KUANG (1019-1068). Volume I. Translated and Annotated by *Achilles Fang*. Edited by *Glen W. Baxter*. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, VI.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, pp. xx, 698, \$10.00.) The *Tzū chih t'ung chien* or *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* is a huge chronicle history of China covering the years 403 B.C.-A.D. 959. It is not an original composition but rather a skillful condensation and weaving together of many earlier sources—chiefly the successive Chinese dynastic histories. The book under review presents a translation of that portion of the *Tzū chih t'ung chien* dealing with the Three Kingdoms period, A.D. 220-265 (Volume I covers the years 220-245, while the remaining years will be treated in a subsequent volume). More than half of its pages, however, are devoted to a detailed paragraph-by-paragraph comparison between Ssu-ma Kuang's text and his original sources, with the purpose of demonstrating precisely how and where he borrowed. Because of this overriding emphasis on *Quellenforschung*, the voluminous notes do not answer—nor are they intended to answer—countless questions that will inevitably occur to anyone

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

primarily interested in the historical events of the Three Kingdoms *per se*. Despite a conspicuous error on the title page, where Ssü-ma Kuang's death date is incorrectly given as 1068 instead of 1086, there is no doubt that Mr. Fang has performed his task with high scholarly distinction. He has been fortunate, moreover, in the aid provided him by his self-effacing editor. The question inevitably arises, however, whether the resulting light thrown upon a late and secondary historical work—even one as famous as the *Tzū chih t'ung chien*—really justifies the large amounts of effort, time, and money that have been lavished on it. As far as the present reviewer is concerned, his reluctant answer must be in the negative. Results of greater intrinsic importance, he believes, would have been achieved if the labor here expended on a text compiled more than eight centuries after the events it records had instead been concentrated upon the really basic source for Three Kingdoms history: the *San kuo chih* or *Treatise on the Three Kingdoms* by Ch'en Shou (233-297).

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JAPAN IN WORLD HISTORY. By G. B. Sansom. [Issued under the Auspices of the Japan Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York, International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1951, pp. 94, \$2.00.) This small but excellent volume is comprised of a series of lectures which Professor Sansom delivered in Japan to Japanese scholars during December, 1950. The author proceeds from the assumption that Japanese history is an important part of the totality of human experience, and proposes to his Japanese audience the ways in which he believes they can best serve both "history" and those of us in the West who are students of Japanese civilization. Most specialists in Japanese history will find at least some of the ideas presented here familiar to them from the author's other works. Professor Sansom's view of the importance of "Japan in World History" is implicit in his assertion that "It is by comparisons, by resemblances and contrasts, that history enables us to draw some inferences—very tentative inferences, I agree—about the principles and the prejudices that govern the behaviour of men, in so far as the behaviour of men can be analyzed and predicted." The specialist in Japanese history will read this small volume with profit and interest. But it is also a volume which can be read with profit by all historians who are not prisoners of narrow specialization.

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

NORTH AMERICA. By *Anthony Trollope*. Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and New Materials by *Donald Smalley* and *Bradford Allen Booth*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, pp. xxxvii, 555, viii, \$6.00.) Long out of print, and familiar to most historians only through excerpts in anthologies of foreign travel literature, Anthony Trollope's *North America* is now made available in a very handsome format. Donald Smalley and Bradford Allen Booth have written an informed and thoughtful introduction and provided useful annotations. The distinguished English novelist and post-office official visited the United States early in the Civil War. His confused neutrality toward the conflict did not actually conceal his underlying sympathy for the North, though he did not foresee a complete victory nor a restored Union. The book is less notable for any light it throws on the war itself than for the fresh and vivid

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

details which support the thesis that life continued to run its course very much as if the war were not in progress. Trollope was bluff but warmhearted, and these qualities are apparent on almost every page. With a sharp eye and realistic insight, and a wonderful control of detail, Trollope wrote in a style that is often sparkling, sometimes whimsical, and always entertaining. In contrast with his mother, he found much to admire in the Americans. Not that he was uncritical. He disliked the widely spread "rowdiness" of religious expression, the too general talk about money, the haste with which people ate, the mendacious press, the corruption that blotched politics and the supplying of the armies, to say nothing of the effects of what he regarded as the undue deference shown to women. But these and other shortcomings which his shrewd eye detected and his facile pen recorded did not offend too much the Americans who reviewed and read his book with admiration when it appeared in 1862. For it was clear that Anthony Trollope genuinely liked the things that most Americans cherished—the high level of education, the equality of opportunity, the dignity of the common man, the industriousness of everyone, and the generally successful adaptation of institutions to the conditions and needs of the country. The book lacks the originality of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* and the balanced architecture of Bryce's *The American Commonwealth*. But its genial and good-natured satire, the vigor and freshness of its detail, and the judicious generalizations would alone give it a noteworthy place among foreign commentaries on American civilization. The added facts that it marked a departure from the older, prevailing caricatures which so many British visitors had indulged in and that it was written by a gifted novelist, insure it a valued and permanent place in the literature about America.

MERLE CURTI, *University of Wisconsin*

THE AMERICANS AT HOME. By *David Macrae*. (New ed.; New York, E. P. Dutton, 1952, pp. 606, \$4.50.) In 1868 this amiable Scottish minister landed at Quebec. Thereafter he visited Boston, New York, Washington, and the South Atlantic and Gulf States. Ascending the Mississippi River, he stayed for a time in Chicago, and thence returned to New England and to Scotland. His travelogue is interspersed with essays on such topics as American women, Reconstruction and the freedmen, the temperance movement, religion, education, and journalism. He recorded numerous interviews and impressions of the prominent people whom he met, particularly with former Confederate leaders and the Boston intellectuals. Lack of profundity is balanced by fair-mindedness. The volume has previously been published only in Great Britain, first in 1871, and—written at a somewhat pedestrian level—probably offered comparatively little of interest to American readers of the period. Now the very unassuming nature of these observations serves to recall a vanished period. No editorial comment has been added to the present edition, and quite likely none was needed.

W. G.

ESSAYS HONORING LAWRENCE C. WROTH. (Portland, Me., Anthoensen Press, 1951, pp. xxi, 515.) The dedication of a *Festschrift* to Dr. Wroth, since 1923 librarian of the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, will be noted with sincere satisfaction by all scholars, bibliographers, and librarians whose interests center in the history of the Americas of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As a scholar Dr. Wroth amply deserves this highest form of tribute from his peers—witness the bibliography of his more than two hundred published writings, and he has also proved himself to be the "ideal librarian" eloquently described in the introduction by Wilmarth S. Lewis, himself a scholar, collector, and generous friend of learning. Furthermore the essays themselves, with their large proportion of bibliographic

content, have not only substantial intrinsic interest but they constitute a work of reference for Americana of permanent usefulness. Unlike many *livres d'hommage* this volume is likely to receive much usage in the hands of its owners. Seven of the essays deal with Columbus and early navigation and settlement, while seven others treat of colonial printing and the book trade and the remaining ten are devoted to a variety of themes. Unfortunately the space assigned to this review limits citation by title and author to only a very few of the essays, which have been selected for their representative quality and general interest: "Columbus in Sixteenth-Century Poetry," by Leicester Bradner; ". . . Bibliographical Description of . . . One Hundred Maps and Charts of the American Continent Published in Great Britain . . . 1600-1850," by Henry Stevens and Roland Tree; "American Booksellers' Catalogues, 1734-1850," by Clarence S. Brigham; "A Half-Century of Canadian Life and Print, 1751-1800," by Marie Tremaine; "The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography in America, 1642-1799," by Jesse H. Shera; "Eighteenth-Century American Fiction," by Lyle H. Wright; "The First Decade of the Federal Act for Copyright, 1790-1800," by Frederick R. Goff; "Hispanic Americana in the John Carter Brown Library," by Henry R. Wagner; "The River in the Ocean," by Lloyd A. Brown; "The Melody of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' in the United States before 1820," by Richard S. Hill; "The Browns and Brown University," by William Greene Roelker. The essays not included in the foregoing list are equally worthy of mention. In conclusion the reviewer cannot forbear to repeat a suggestion which he has already often made, that a major bibliographical desideratum would be the progressive publication of a classified list of the contents of *Festschriften* dedicated to American scholars. There is gold in those hills.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Washington, D.C.*

THE PAPERS OF HENRY BOUQUET. Volume II, THE FORBES EXPEDITION.

Edited by S. K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, Autumn L. Leonard. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951, pp. xxxiii, 704, \$7.00.) This, the first published volume of the *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, includes chiefly Bouquet's correspondence, June 1-December 1, 1758, and his Orderly Book, June 17-September 15, 1758. The period was a critical one. Braddock's defeat had left the French in possession of Fort Duquesne, and English influence on the western frontier was at a low ebb. A well-equipped and organized force was a necessity if the French were to be driven from Fort Duquesne. General Forbes arrived in April, 1758, to take charge of an expedition planned to follow the traders' route directly across Pennsylvania. Forbes's serious illness shifted to his second in command, Colonel Henry Bouquet, a Swiss officer, the chief burden of gathering and collecting supplies, organizing the force, and the construction of the all-important Forbes Road. In the sequel General Forbes took over Fort Duquesne, which he promptly rechristened Fort Pitt and thus restored English control of the Ohio Valley and the western frontier. The important part which Colonel Bouquet played in the final victory is vividly shown in this volume of *Papers*. The volume is an exceptionally comprehensive one and includes material from all the important collections of Bouquet papers, notably those of the British Museum and the Huntington Library. So exhaustive has been the research of the three co-editors that a pertinent question may be raised whether the relative importance of Bouquet himself and the Forbes Expedition justifies so extensive a volume. The details of the editorial work have been intelligently and thoroughly done. The papers are arranged chronologically, and there are English translations of all the documents originally in French. The difficult problem of notes has likewise been solved in excellent fashion, to give ample explanations without pedantry. The illustrations are well chosen, and there is an excellent index. Altogether, the volume

is a model in the careful editing of papers which form a valuable contribution to the eighteenth-century history of the western frontier.

BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR., *University of Cincinnati*

THE PAPERS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON. Volume X [1758-1763]. Prepared for Publication by *Milton W. Hamilton*, Senior Historian, the Division of Archives and History, and *Albert B. Corey*, Director and State Historian (New York). (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1951, pp. xiv, 998.) The publication of *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* was begun in 1921. The first three volumes were edited by Dr. Richard E. Day and the contents were based largely upon the Johnson manuscripts preserved in the New York State Library. When Dr. Alexander C. Flick became state historian in 1923, he instituted a thorough search for additional Johnson material in other depositories in the United States, Canada, and Europe, which resulted in the discovery of a very large number of additional items. Wherever possible this new material was included in its appropriate chronological position in succeeding volumes as they were published. However, so many new items had been brought to light relating to the period already covered by Volumes I-III that it became necessary to plan a series of supplementary volumes containing documents relating to the earlier years. Volume IX, the first of these supplementary volumes, appeared in 1939, and now we have Volume X, which deals with the Seven Years' War and the conspiracy of Pontiac and covers the years from 1758 to 1763. Thus, chronologically, its contents run parallel to those of Volume III and a part of Volume IV, a fact which should be noted by anyone using the collection. It appears probable that there will be at least two more supplementary volumes to follow. Among the depositories drawn upon for the papers printed in the present volume are the Public Record Office, London; the Public Archives of Canada; the William L. Clements Library; the Henry E. Huntington Library; the New York Historical Library, and many others. As in the case of earlier volumes, the basis of selection of material has been very generous and the papers here published will be indispensable to anyone studying the history of the American frontier toward the close of the Seven Years' War and during the troubled years which followed. There are innumerable documents relating to military operations and problems of frontier defense, the fur trade and its regulation, Indian conferences and treaties, subsidies and presents, land grants and titles, missionary activities, etc. The editing has been done in accordance with the most exacting standards of scholarship and the student is supplied with all available information which will facilitate the use and interpretation of each document. Not the least attractive feature of this volume, as of its predecessors, consists in a selection of excellent illustrations, which include portraits, maps, plans, etc. It is to be hoped that the many new and varied materials assembled not only in this volume but in the entire monumental collection will lead to a renewed interest in the remarkable career of Sir William Johnson and the history of the eighteenth-century frontier with which he had so many significant contacts.

WAYNE E. STEVENS, *Dartmouth College*

PIEDMONT PARTISAN: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM LEE DAVIDSON. By *Chalmers Gaston Davidson*. (Davidson, N.C., Davidson College, 1951, pp. 190, \$3.00.) This is a well-organized, beautifully written, and heavily documented account of one of North Carolina's most successful Revolutionary leaders. William Lee Davidson entered the service as a major in the Continental Line and was used effectively as a recruiting officer in the state in 1776 and the first half of 1777. He participated in the battle of Germantown, his only major

battle, after which he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He served at Valley Forge, Philadelphia, and West Point during the next year, and in November, 1779, was ordered south with his regiment for the defense of Charleston. His absence on furlough prevented his presence at General Lincoln's surrender of that city to the British on May 12, 1780. Davidson was severely wounded at Colson's Mill, July 21, but returned to action exactly one month later—as brigadier general of the North Carolina militia. Davidson achieved his fame as a militia leader. He had the confidence of his men, personal knowledge of the terrain and frontier psychology, and the ability to avoid a general engagement with the British forces. Though he was not present at King's Mountain, many of his men fought there, and Davidson's letter to Jethro Sumner, October 10, 1780, "was the first written account of the battle which turned the tide of the Revolution in the South." Davidson was killed at Cowan's Ford on the Catawba, February 1, 1781. Two counties, one in Tennessee and one in North Carolina, and a noted liberal arts college have been named in honor of this distinguished "partisan leader." Appropriately it is Davidson College that issues the volume, with a twentieth-century Davidson as author.

HUGH T. LEFLER, *University of North Carolina*

HENRY C. CAREY AND AMERICAN SECTIONAL CONFLICT. By *George Winston Smith*. [University of New Mexico Publications in History, No. 3.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1951, pp. 127, \$1.50.) Judged on the basis of pages of theoretical work published in book form, Henry C. Carey was the most important pre-Civil War American economist. And while other economic writers may have been more acute in their theorizing, Carey, at least, spoke true doctrine for the rising promoters of mines and factories. In the name of free enterprise he justified general incorporation acts, limited liability, and the protective tariff. Clearly such a thinker had to resort to complex rationalizations, and there is a strong probability, as pointed out by Joseph Dorfman in *The Economic Mind* that these rationalizations fitted well with Carey's private financial interests. Two main criticisms that may be made of this most recent discussion of Carey's views on sectional conflict is that Mr. Smith does not give us a rounded picture of Carey's personality, and does not sufficiently relate Carey's views to his personal affairs. It might be argued that in a 120-page discussion of one segment of Carey's ideas there is not space for detailed discussions of their settings and origins. This poses the question of how much knowledge the specialist may assume on the part of the reader. In the case of Carey it is unfortunate to have to presuppose too much, as he had unorthodox meanings for many of his words and an unusual range of private interests. As a record of Carey's activities in connection with sectional politics and the Civil War, Mr. Smith's work, prepared from the Henry C. Carey Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is scholarly and probably as complete as the subject warrants. Carey hoped to achieve enduring union by tying the upper South to Pennsylvania and the states of the Ohio Valley. Railroads and industry were to be the common bonds. The prime essential for this program, as he saw it, was a protective tariff, but he never succeeded in convincing the leaders of the southern states.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE MYSTERIES OF OHIO'S UNDERGROUND RAILROADS. By *Wilbur Henry Siebert*. (Columbus, Ohio, Long's College Book Co., 1951, pp. xxix, 330.) Professor Siebert has long been known for his distinguished study, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (1898), a pioneer work largely composed of original materials. It adequately defined the place of the underground railroad in the anti-

slavery crusade and provided the data necessary to determining its actual scope, distribution, and manner of operation. Because of its necessarily secretive nature, data relating to underground activities were relatively sparse and had to be expanded by personal reminiscences, a large personal correspondence, and field trips. Since then, Professor Siebert has strengthened the record with monographs dealing with the underground railroad in Vermont and Massachusetts. His present monograph deals with what was, perhaps, in view of its strategic position in antislavery, coupled with its proximity to the slave states, the most important of the states furnishing "underground" facilities to fugitive slaves. Again the record is gratifyingly augmented. Cincinnati and other river ports on the Ohio receive the intensive treatment due them, but inland stations and the lake shore ports are also covered conscientiously. The record is varied and picturesque, adding new material on hiding places, disguises, and tricks used to frustrate slave-catchers. Individuals associated with the underground were extremely diverse, including not only such famous personages as the Rev. John Rankin: a Henry Roberts became superintendent of a gang of skilled slaves on the lower Mississippi in order to help Negroes escape north; Benjamin R. Hanby conducted fugitives from Westerville, in central Ohio, further north, and also penned "My Darling Nelly Gray"; and James Rose, of northeast Ohio, felt like a thief in conducting Negroes clandestinely, and proceeded to do so in broad daylight. Although this volume adds little in the way of conclusions respecting the role of the underground railroad in antislavery, it underscores its fundamental nature in the field, and provides a wide variety of information which can be utilized for other purposes. There are numerous illustrations which help to impart vitality and interest to the text, and excellent maps.

LOUIS FILLER, *Antioch College*

AN ALASKAN GOLD MINE: THE STORY OF NO. 9 ABOVE. By *Leland H. Carlson*, Northwestern University. [Northwestern University Studies, Social Science, Series, No. 7.] (Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University Press, 1951, pp. xii, 178, \$3.50.) Denominational colleges and theological seminaries have played a significant part, earlier, in developing the cultural aspects of America's history, with some less happy in it than others. Among those which have resisted successfully the trend toward secularization in the twentieth century is North Park College, established in Chicago by a Swedish sect, the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America. Mr. Carlson produced the centennial history of this college in 1941, becoming thereby greatly interested in the gold-mining proclivities of some missionaries sent to Alaska's Seward Peninsula by this denomination in the strategic decade of the gold rushes. The missionary whose gold claims panned out best was Peter H. Anderson. Some of the brethren looked with envious eyes upon his good luck near Nome, cast aspersions upon his donations to the church and college, widely publicized his relations with a certain lady of the territory, and tried to bring into Covenant coffers more of the profits from the disputed mine. The struggle to deprive Mr. Anderson of the metallic part of his holdings involved eighteen years of litigation in eleven different courts and four appearances before the United States Supreme Court. All this is described in some detail by Mr. Carlson who makes it abundantly clear that the lawyers benefited considerably and Mr. Anderson only moderately, while the denomination was sadly rent by the ungodly pursuit of filthy lucre. The episode was shameful enough but not uncharacteristic of Alaska or other gold diggings. Presumably the Swedish historical group formed in 1948 to preserve the story of their pioneer endeavors in America will sponsor other works of wider appeal and significance.

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS, *Swarthmore, Pennsylvania*

THREE HUNDRED YEARS AMERICAN: THE EPIC OF A FAMILY FROM SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND TO TWENTIETH-CENTURY MIDWEST. By *Alice F. and Bettina Jackson*. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1951, pp. xii, 368, \$4.00.) No reviews of textbooks or genealogies is a rule of the *Review*. By reason of the split personality sought and achieved by an appeal to the bookstore public some of the first group get by. Here is the first schizophrenic genealogy with so much interesting history in it that it deserves the notice of social historians and historians of immigration. Very skillfully the authors have intertwined the history of two English families with innumerable progeny and better than average economic status who started from England three hundred years ago and finally come together in Newton, Massachusetts, and Madison, Wisconsin. Along the way the authors linger to give interesting accounts of life in England (especially in the mid-nineteenth century), colonial New England, the American Revolution (with forty-four Jacksons in one unit of Washington's army around Boston), the westward trek to the wilds of Dane County, Wisconsin, where other English preceded and followed, the Civil War, and finally Madison, the capital between the lakes, with "the twin heights of law and learning." The Jacksons were typical seventeenth-century colonialists. The Hobbins family from the Midlands waited until smoke and industrial development and depression after 1848, and glowing literature straight from the governor of Wisconsin, set them in motion. They headed for Wisconsin because, of course, a governor would not send deceptive literature. There were twenty-six members of the families, plus seven servants, something not usual in the history of nineteenth-century migration. Some could not stand the hardships, and the Wisconsin winters, and returned. Jacksons and Kenricks sent offshoots from Newton to Madison. All were letter writers and keepers of diaries, and the authors of this volume had the wisdom to quote and thus give their story a vividness that makes it a source book which, by judicious skipping of the necessary genealogical details, becomes interesting reading. A nice touch in acculturation or Americanization is the English-born father grudgingly but graciously buying fireworks for his children on the Fourth of July. The last paragraph mentions the founding by "Old Doctor" Jackson and his two sons, Reginald and James, of the Jackson clinic, a parallel to and imitation of what was done by another old Englishman, Dr. W. W. Mayo, and his two sons in Rochester, Minnesota. It was the last paragraph that convinced the reviewer that he had known some of the Jacksons, for it was Dr. Reginald that saved his daughter's life when as a consultant he stopped a young sprig from operating for appendicitis in a case of paratyphoid fever, and another brother, Joseph, was pitcher on my last college baseball team. The reviewer is naturally grateful that the Jacksons and the Hobbins' came to America and ultimately intermarried and that the sisters of Dr. "Reg" have made his and their genealogy a contribution to the making of America.

G.S.F.

AMERICAN CULTURE AND RELIGION: SIX ESSAYS. By *William Warren Sweet*. (Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1951, pp. 114, \$2.50.) These six essays were written at various intervals between the years 1944 and 1951 and are concerned with the historic relations between religion and culture in the United States. Dr. Sweet is eminently qualified to discuss these questions because of his long and honored experience as professor of American church history at the University of Chicago. These essays are fresh and appealing in style and original and suggestive in content. The topics dealt with include cultural pluralism, protestantism, natural religion, denominational unity, sect and cult, and ecumenicity. In discussing these topics, Dr. Sweet deals less with economic and social origins than would seem justi-

fied by the available historical data. The longest essay is concerned with the influence of the movement for natural religion on the separation of church and state in the United States. It might be said that the author could also have stressed the practical considerations that led to the doctrine of separation. In this instance, conditions may have been as influential as ideas. This particular chapter is still, however, one of the best in this scholarly and rewarding volume of essays.

DONALD G. TEWKSBURY, *Teachers College, Columbia University*

HIBERNIAN CRUSADE: THE STORY OF THE CATHOLIC TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION OF AMERICA. By *Sister Joan Bland*, Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1951, pp. ix, 297, \$3.00.) This valuable dissertation is written from a wealth of material. In order to present conflicting and varying points of view within the framework of the general subject, the author presents a mass of detail. The narrative is frequently interrupted by extracts from the sources in which participants in the controversies are given a hearing. Contemporaneous with the Hibernian Crusade was a nation-wide temperance crusade which antedated the former. The religious emphasis was predominant in both. Catholic and Protestant reformers stressed the moral iniquity of intemperance and the evils inherent in the American saloon. Both made use of the pulpit, the printing press, the pledge, mass meetings, and conventions. Not infrequently did Catholics and Protestants join hands and appear on common platforms. The author points out that in accommodating Catholics to the American scene some leaders seemed willing to accept a number of Puritan ideas, although laymen were less prominent and influential than in the American Temperance Society and its auxiliaries and affiliates. Greetings received at a Catholic convention from the W.C.T.U. were enthusiastically applauded. There were priests who deemed it important to show that the element most opposed to the Sunday closing of saloons were Continental Catholics. As Catholics and Americans they did not propose to submit to the degradation they would suffer if the American Sunday became disgraced by customs brought from foreign lands. Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, who rose to eminence as a civic leader in the Northwest, won the respect and plaudits of individuals and groups regardless of church or creed. On the other hand, there were leaders who feared that, by committing the church to certain affiliations and organizations, in the public eye the church might appear to have compromised with heresy. When the temperance movement moved into the final phase and espoused prohibition, the cleavage between the Catholics and the Protestants grew consistently deeper, partly because it was suspected that the Anti-Saloon League was infested with anti-Catholics. Sister Joan concludes that the Catholic Total Abstinence Union was different from any other Catholic society in United States history. "To an unusual degree it accepted the point of view of respectable, Protestant America. In a sense it was the incarnation of Archbishop Ireland's ideal of a prosperous, civic-minded, Americanized Catholicism. In the early days there was emphasis upon the Irish loyalties of the membership, but this was gradually diminished, to be replaced by an almost fanatical Americanism."

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, *University of Minnesota*

SHOWBOATS: THE HISTORY OF AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION. By *Philip Graham*. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1951, pp. x, 224, \$3.75.) Say "showboat," and what is conjured up in the general imagination is a bright, gaudy dream-land in which something in the nature of an old-fashioned plantation wedding takes place on the stage of the Roxy Theater. It's the old story all over again, the triumph of fancy over fact. The fact of the showboat was always there, however, waiting for a

man who thought it worth the bother, and in Mr. Graham it has found its man. If the dream-cloud is not dispelled, the fault will not be his—here is the factual story of the American showboat, dated, documented, and most entertainingly delivered. What we see in Mr. Graham's book is the coming together of the early American frontier and the early American theater. Out of that meeting something had to happen and something did—the creation of a new domestic institution and a new chapter in our social history. Mr. Graham does an excellent job of examining the one and interpreting the other. The main emphasis of his study, however, is where it should be, on the showboat itself. Drawing upon manuscripts, letters, diaries, log-books, newspaper files, personal interviews, and other source materials, Mr. Graham follows the development and history of the showboat from the time "Ludlow's Noah's Ark" played Natchez-under-the-Hill in 1817 to the end, around 1930, of the glory trail. It is a long story, full of interest, drama, and humor, and, since it must have taken years to assemble, our thanks are due Mr. Graham all around. The illustrations, I might add, are a special joy.

HAMILTON BASSO, *New York, N.Y.*

THE HERMIT PHILOSOPHER OF LIENDO [EDMUND MONTGOMERY]. By I. K. Stephens. (Dallas, Texas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1951, pp. x, 402, \$5.00.) This admirable biography of Edmund Montgomery (1835-1911), philosopher and scientist, and of his wife, Elisabet Ney (1833-1907), Bavarian sculptor, leaves little to be desired. Born in Edinburgh, Montgomery spent his early life in Paris and Frankfort on the Main. His medical studies took him to Heidelberg, Berlin, Bonn, and Würzburg, where he earned his M.D. degree in 1858. After postdoctoral work at Prague and Vienna he practiced medicine in London, France, and Italy. In 1871, with his wife, whom he had married at Madeira in 1863, Montgomery came to the United States, and after a two-year interlude in Georgia bought a plantation in Waller County, Texas, where he spent the rest of his life. Here, harassed by financial difficulties and "in utter scientific and philosophical seclusion," he conducted laboratory experiments on the physiology and behavior of the protista and produced nearly all his most original and important works—articles in German, British, and American journals and five books, the most significant of which was *Philosophical Problems in the Light of Vital Organization* (1907). In spite of his isolated life, the "hermit philosopher" became known among scientists and philosophers as the scholar who, on the basis of experimental studies, combated for almost fifty years the current materialistic-mechanistic explanation of vital phenomena, and in his philosophy of vital organization anticipated by at least forty years modern organicism. Views akin to Montgomery's were later published by Benjamin Moore, J. Arthur Thomson, C. Lloyd Morgan, A. N. Whitehead, H. S. Jennings, and especially William E. Ritter (*Unity of the Organism*, 1919). In this admirable analysis of materials drawn from the most diverse sources Professor Stephens has rescued from oblivion one of the keenest minds that ever worked in the Southwest and has given us a well-written and definitive biography of a great pioneer in the history of philosophy.

S. W. GEISER, *Southern Methodist University*

THE SELECTED LETTERS OF HENRY ADAMS. Edited with an Introduction by Newton Arvin. [Great Letters Series.] (New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1951, pp. xxxiv, 279, \$3.50.) In the rich heritage which Henry Adams left to posterity, his letters have a significance quite different from anything else he wrote. During his lifetime he probably wrote three or four thousand—some still unpublished—of sufficient distinction to establish him a master of the form. They contain almost no repetition, and they are molded on a sense of the importance of structure, manners,

thought, and especially of friendships. It is in his letters alone that Adams wrote naturally and therefore most revealingly. There only we find him directly addressing a sure audience, often with an unconstricted pen, without the customary mask, and, especially in the latter half of his life, with an ease of style and humor that made him most engaging. He was fortunate in having a wide and responsive audience for his letters, and the world is fortunate that so many of them were saved and have been published. A reading of the letters for a period of years shows the development of his mind in a manner which all his books taken together fail to indicate clearly. Of the few top letter writers America has produced, Adams is the first to be chosen for the "Great Letters Series," and Louis Kronenberger, the editor in chief, has found in Newton Arvin an able editor for this collection. However, the little more than one hundred letters in this volume cannot do justice to the many-sided Henry Adams. Of course one can always quarrel with such a selection. This one in particular is not large enough to be satisfactory; it neglects the writer's personal life; it omits most of his scholarly accomplishments and the range of his probing mind. Also the teacher in Adams is lacking: his interest in helping young people to think for themselves and his ability to give sound instruction to the budding writer and artist. The editor, as we should expect, is primarily interested in Adams the expert letter writer. It happens that the letters chosen reveal much more of Adams the traveler and boon companion, one of the most restless and observing travelers of his day. The book is well edited; it is organized into periods, each introduced by a brief background story; the main characters are identified in a section by themselves; and the whole is preceded by an introduction in which Mr. Arvin makes several new and sound observations. This small volume should serve to convince the reader that Adams the historian, biographer, and novelist was also a master letter writer.

HAROLD DEAN CATER, *Minnesota Historical Society*

BROOKS ADAMS, CONSTRUCTIVE CONSERVATIVE. By *Thornton Anderson*, University of Maryland. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1951, pp. xiv, 250, \$3.75.) In this first book-length estimate of Brooks Adams, Professor Anderson carefully sets down in a smoothly integrated matrix of quotation and paraphrase the major ideas of Brooks Adams particularly in respect to his philosophies of law, of imperialism, of bureaucracy, and of education. In law he disliked finding the cause of each judicial decision in some preceding decision from which it was deduced by reasoning, and he vigorously supported instead the theory that law was the result of the conflict of forces and the product of the struggle for existence among men. Brooks Adams in his enthusiastic nationalism and with an eye to national economic advantage supported American imperialism. He believed imperialism to be a kind of substitute for the coinage of silver which he supported as a means of raising prices and inducing prosperity. In his philosophy of administration he searched for unity, order, and authority, and he was not especially sympathetic to the democratic means of attaining such stability. In proposing to shift the balance of American government toward centralized administration and rule by managers, he preferred the military mind even in matters traditionally under civilian control. Military education, he believed, was a model for all education. A Darwinian, Brooks Adams thought that the capacity to adapt to changes in environment could be augmented by education to the point where new generalizing minds presumably of the military type and capable of administering society efficiently would be created. However, toward the end of his life, Brooks Adams came to the conclusion that all efforts to change society and its motion were apparently hopeless. Men were evidently automatic animals who took the easiest path, and all attempts to guide them into other lines were doomed to

disappointment. In other words, mankind had failed to listen to Brooks Adams' arguments, and, in typical Adams fashion, Brooks Adams was generalizing his frustration. These arguments and conclusions which Professor Anderson has clearly and accurately set forth resemble closely those of the totalitarian philosophies of more recent vintage. The social and political milieu of Brooks Adams may have been different, but the similarity of arguments should have interest for a scholar who calls Brooks Adams a constructive conservative. But Professor Anderson is not really concerned with the contemporary relevance of Brooks Adams' master ideas but only with establishing the fact that Brooks Adams has earned and has deserved a place in American thought. Professor Anderson has demonstrated this, but he has not given us a critical interpretation of Adams' concepts. There is not the bold if vulnerable projection of imagination such as Brooks Adams himself was capable of, nor is there such mastery of Adams' ideas and their sources and background that the reader is immediately aware of their value in the history of thought. There is, however, conscientious exegesis. We have Brooks Adams admirably summarized, and sympathetically presented.

HENRY WASSER, *City College of New York*

MEN OF WEST POINT: THE FIRST 150 YEARS OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY. By *R. Ernest Dupuy*, Colonel, U.S.A., Ret. (New York, William Sloane Associates, 1952, pp. xvii, 486, \$5.00.) This is not a biographical dictionary of West Point graduates nor a history of the United States Military Academy. It is a narrative, sometimes sketchy, sometimes detailed, of events in which West Point men have played a part. Some four hundred of them are named: generals in high command, civilians in every walk of life, lieutenants who died heroically. It is a remarkable catalogue, which perhaps no one but this author would have the knowledge or the patience to compile. Some graduates are omitted who made more of a mark on the history of the army than scores of those mentioned, but it would be unfair to ask Colonel Dupuy to duplicate Cullum's *Register*. The book is pitched throughout in the high strain of exaltation which convention seems to require of writings about West Point. It is not chiefly a matter of definite error or exaggeration, though these are not absent, but rather of a romantic haze which hangs over the narrative, shrouding all imperfections and extending even over the individuals who are mentioned. Through it some mediocre men loom large and the rather sharp flaws in the characters of some others are obscured. The glorification of the honor system would be a little too lyrical at any time, and in the light of recent revelations it reads like bitter satire. Nevertheless the book has a field of usefulness extending beyond the group of West Point alumni for whom its appeal is obvious and those large libraries which acquire any and all new books on American history. One half of the text is devoted to the operations of World War II, a subject so vast and complex that the ordinary reader despairs of getting more than a nebulous conception. Here is a clear account of the campaigns in all the theaters of war; not a complete and well-balanced history, for, as the author points out, its interest is "only in the men of West Point engaged." So the Navy's work is described only as it directly affected land operations. But allowing for its avowed limitations the book provides the information wanted by the nonprofessional reader, and in easily readable form. It is suitable for the shelves of small libraries as well as large.

THOMAS M. SPAULDING, *Washington, D.C.*

THEY FOUGHT WITH WHAT THEY HAD: THE STORY OF THE ARMY AIR FORCES IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC, 1941-1942. By *Walter D. Edmonds*. With an Introduction by General George C. Kenney, USAF. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1951, pp. xxiii, 532, \$5.00.) Japanese armed forces opened hostilities against the

United States at the periphery of its power under conditions most favorable to them, subjecting the United States and its allies to months of delaying tactics, of heroic and sacrificial effort, and of bitter losses before the two sides were brought to balance. In this first of two volumes, Mr. Edmonds deals with the early phase of the war in the Southwest Pacific, and from the point of view of the men engaged in the field. Avoiding explicit military criticism, what he occasionally implies falls in general into the familiar pattern of the inveterate hostility of the men of tactical units toward headquarters staffs. The author obtained 13 diaries and personal narratives, 12 written statements, and 136 interviews, some of them with groups of participants, which he subsequently checked against some pertinent archives and published sources. His research began in the spring of 1945, about three years after the events discussed in the interviews, when he undertook to write a volume for the Personnel Narratives Office of the Chief of Air Staff. Since then he has benefited from the publication of the volumes of the official history of the Army Air Forces in World War II and of Morison's history of United States Navy operations, and has had assistance from historical officers and others. The book gives so much attention to individuals, particular missions, and even individual aircraft that the narrative becomes a series of episodes. Only enough of the strategic issues and the contemporary ground and sea operations is provided to link the episodes into an understandable pattern. The point of view in treating these matters is closer to that of the men then fighting than that of today's students of World War II seeking a balanced history. Mr. Edmonds excels at description, providing a graphic aerial view of many places which came under Japanese attack. He gives discerning attention to matters of morale. He turns aside from the air war to relate sympathetically the frustrated efforts of Colonel John A. Robenson to execute his urgent orders from the War Department to get supplies into Bataan from the Netherlands East Indies. He has succeeded in writing with commendable objectivity and ample grace.

GEORGE FREDERICK HOWE, *Washington, D.C.*

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Volume XII, JANUARY 1-DECEMBER 31, 1950. Edited by *Raymond Dennett* and *Robert K. Turner*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press for World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1951, pp. xxvi, 702, \$6.00.) The make-up of the 1950 volume of *Documents on American Foreign Relations* reflects, as was to be expected, progress away from one war and into another. "Occupation Policy" disappears as a main heading; for occupation policies in Japan, Germany, and Austria one must look in the appropriate geographical sections. The "Economic Reconstruction and Development" of earlier volumes becomes simply "Economic Development." "Asia and the Pacific Area" replaces "Eastern Asia and the Pacific Area," though the countries of western Asia appear in another section headed "Middle East and Africa." "Europe" stands alone instead of being bracketed, as formerly, with "Africa and Western Asia." Other headings remain unchanged; as in the 1949 volume, there are fifteen in all. While World War II fades into the background, the Korean war comes over the horizon. Secretary Acheson, in a now famous speech before the National Press Club, defines the "defensive perimeter" of the United States in the western Pacific. United States and United Nations intervention in behalf of the Republic of Korea, and Chinese counterintervention, are recorded in the relevant documents. The resolutions on "Uniting for Peace," adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in November show how that body assumed the authority to act to halt aggression in the event of failure by the Security Council. Other significant documents, chosen more or less at random, are the conclusions and recommendations of the Bell Mission to the Philippines, the treaty of alliance of

February 14 between the USSR and Communist China, a State Department list of treaty violations by the USSR, and the communiqué issued by the NATO Council at its sixth session, recording the request that President Truman make General Eisenhower available to serve as Supreme Commander of NATO forces. These items are sufficient to illustrate the wide range of usefulness of the volume.

JULIUS W. PRATT, *University of Buffalo*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

ARCHITECTURE AND TOWN PLANNING IN COLONIAL CONNECTICUT.

By *Anthony N. B. Garvan*. [Yale Historical Publications: History of Art, VI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. xiv, 166, \$7.50.) A major weakness of this fine monograph is its inexact title. Yale University Press did Professor Garvan no great service when it broadened the scope of the 151-page volume, in title at least, by implying that it covered the whole of the colonial period. The author himself is more explicit when he says in his conclusion, "This work has been concerned chiefly with demonstration of the European precedents for the settler's customs." This chore he does well, so well that he has already received the ultimate accolade of his colleagues and peers, the annual gold medal of the Society of Architectural Historians for the outstanding contribution in architectural history by an American author in 1951. An excellent synthesis of the character of the early Connecticut migration leads logically to a discussion of town and land planning. In the Ulster adventurer town is found the closest prototype for nuclear settlement, after which colonial ingenuity and adaptation took over, resulting in an influence on planning that has never been lost. The second half of the book then concerns itself with the architecture of the settlers, which, not unexpectedly, is declared to have sprung from England in traditional rather than precise terms. Possibly the most illuminating discussion concerns itself with the hitherto widely accepted evolutionary theory—that is, that there was in Connecticut a progression from the first one-room house to the final familiar two-story gable roof structure. To this reviewer's satisfaction at least, Professor Garvan has proved that the single origin theory is fallacious. Because the dating of early houses is often difficult, there is room for conjecture, but an excellent case is made for a rich variety of early architecture, stemming from differences in the settlers' social and economic positions. The Yale Historical Publications, of which this is the thirty-first, assisted in producing a handsome, well-illustrated volume, lacking only a general map of Connecticut for those who are not acquainted with every nook and cranny in that state. If only the editors and publishers had not yielded to the temptation to mistitle it! *FREDERICK L. RATH, JR., Washington, D.C.*

LIFE ON THE UPPER SUSQUEHANNA, 1783-1860. By *James Arthur Frost*, State Teachers College, Oneonta, New York. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1951, pp. xii, 172, \$2.75.) The Empire State is so diverse in pattern as to defy generalization. There is a temptation to deal with it by regions. There have been produced in the state in the past few years a number of interesting and useful regional histories; and this one may be added to them, albeit, with a scant 128 pages of text, it is definitely on the thin side. The text is followed by 22 pages of notes, which could better have been placed at the bottoms of the pages to which they belong and surely with little added cost. The notes are followed by an excellent 16-page bibliography and by a 6-page, double-columned index that seems adequate for a text of this length. There are two modest, ink-drawn, outline maps that the reader will turn to often, one of

the upper valley boundaries and tributaries and the other of the roads about 1810. One will still go to Francis Whiting Halsey's *The Old New York Frontier* for the romantic story of the first settlements at Cherry Valley and Otsego Lake in colonial days, and of the retreat during the Revolution when the Cherry Valley massacre and the terror it caused left the valley desolate. This volume begins with the reoccupancy after the peace and the greater population surge that followed, 1790-1795. There follow three chapters treating respectively the frontier economy, the social structure, and the struggle for political control, all dealing with the years prior to 1820. A chapter on the rise of capitalistic enterprise serves as a transition to the 1830-1860 period, which, in turn, is covered by three chapters emphasizing adjustments to the national economy, new migrations, and social attitudes. In a final chapter entitled "The Upper Susquehanna Valley and the American Scene, 1783-1860," the author offers some well-stated general observations and summary interpretations. The organization is excellent. The author displays good training in the technical aspects of scholarship. The writing, if undistinguished, has the virtues of being straightforward and meaningful. There remains an impression that the material is thin or that it has not been fully used. The main reason, this reviewer has concluded, is that no local records appear to have been drawn upon to give that solid structure and rich detail that they can provide when intelligently and imaginatively used. The author has this strange statement in the introduction to his bibliography: "For the period prior to 1860 the records of local governmental units are meager and scattered. Many are lost. In general, those that have been examined were disappointing and did not contribute substantially to this study." This may be true of town records but cannot apply to the more important county records, which he has overlooked or chosen to ignore. Perhaps the author is not alone to be blamed. Our graduate schools of history have for a generation ignored them almost as though the Historical Records Survey with its hundreds of inventories had never existed. Yet our regional history will remain thin as long as young scholars are taught to base it on peripheral sources.

OLIVER W. HOLMES, *The National Archives*

A PHILADELPHIA STORY: THE PHILADELPHIA CONTRIBUTIONSHIP FOR THE INSURANCE OF HOUSES FROM LOSS BY FIRE. By *Nicholas B. Wainwright*. (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Contributionship, 1952, pp. 260, \$5.00.) Although the title of this attractive volume is suggestive of works of fiction, it is good history, based on original sources, and written with considerable literary charm. To this are added well-chosen, beautiful illustrations, typography, and make-up, worthy of "B. Franklin, Printer." On the other hand, there is no index. The supposition that a volume commemorating the two hundredth anniversary of the Philadelphia Contributionship will be read, rather than consulted, is a dubious assumption even in the case of so "venerable and rich" an institution. The "story" as it is developed from a remarkably complete series of records, beginning with the deed of settlement of March 25, 1752 (cf. pp. 239-60), is enlivened by the author's keen sense for the tone of the social and cultural background of the old institutions of Philadelphia. Among these, the Contributionship is outstanding. Throughout its long history, it has steadfastly adhered to "writing perpetual fire insurance . . . on brick and stone buildings in Philadelphia and adjoining Counties." It has never responded to the lure of other types of risks, like marine insurance, or ventured outside the territory described in the deed of settlement. Even in this restricted area, the officers and directors were extraordinarily cautious, scrutinizing all risks with meticulous care (cf. survey no. I, p. 40, and that of Franklin's home, p. 88), to the point of declaring against insurance on houses "which have a tree or trees planted before them in the streets." Protest-

policy holders withdrew, organized a separate company in 1784, and adopted the name and symbol of the Green Tree in contrast to the Hand in Hand. Nevertheless, the Contributionship grew and flourished, its financial stability attested by assets of nearly twenty per cent of its risks, and the payment of ten per cent dividend, even in the depression years after 1929, to policy holders of ten years' standing. One is tempted to speculate on what so successful a direction of the corporation's affairs would have achieved, had it expanded, in response to Franklin's dynamic idea of mutual assistance, into the broader field represented today in a vast network of mutual insurance companies in every state of the nation.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

IMPRESSIONS RESPECTING NEW ORLEANS: DIARY AND SKETCHES, 1818-1820. By Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. xxiv, 196, \$8.75.) It is always a pleasure to find a book which presents an example of artistic book-making. The Columbia University Press has achieved that in this volume—in the printing, in the illustrations, and even in the jacket. The unusual proportions of this book, even though a bit awkward for the reader, may be regarded as justified by the fact that it reproduces most of Latrobe's drawings and water colors in the same size as the originals. The original manuscripts in the collection of the late Ferdinand Latrobe II, great-grandson of the author, are now first published in their entirety, for only portions were published in 1905 in *The Journal of Latrobe* by Appleton. The manuscript comprised originally eight small copybooks, of from forty to sixty-five pages each, but one, number three in the series, seems to have been lost. Samuel Wilson, Jr., an architect and lecturer at Tulane University, has discharged very satisfactorily his task of editing the work, providing in the introduction an account of Latrobe's life and work and elucidating the text with copious notes. He has secured his data not only from the letter books and letters in the possession of members of the Latrobe family but also from the usual printed sources. From Latrobe's sketch-book have been reproduced twenty-five sketches and maps, which are appended to this volume. In addition scattered through the pages appear numerous illustrations, some simple pen-and-ink drawings of birds, fish, and seaweed; others are full-page illustrations in color; and a frontispiece furnishes appropriately a reproduction of a portrait of Latrobe attributed to Charles Willson Peale. Latrobe was not only a cultivated and widely traveled architect, with a large circle of influential friends; he was also a widely read and informed man, whose philosophy is reflected through the pages of his journal, indicating, as the editor says, the changes in thought from the rationalism of the eighteenth century to the revivalism of the nineteenth. He meditates on the virtues of sin (pp. 26-31), on the importance of life, a passage which smacks of Hindu philosophy (pp. 37-39), and reflects something of his early years in Germany in his attitude toward observance of Sunday (pp. 46-49). Latrobe manages to sweep over a wide field of human thought. He comments on the wisdom of cremation as a means of disposing of the dead; on sentimentality toward Indians, on Spanish cruelty toward freemasons, on the peculiarity of retail trade as carried on by Negro peddlers in that southern city, and on the complexity of French and German methods of designating numerals. His strictures on our state and national capitals do not make agreeable reading. In the appendixes are inserted several letters by members of the family, one by his daughter and two by his wife, which further illuminate the journal.

ELLA LONN, *Baltimore, Maryland*

THE HEALTH OF SLAVES ON SOUTHERN PLANTATIONS. By William Dosite Postell. [Louisiana State University Studies, Social Science Series, No. 1.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1951, pp. xiii, 231, \$3.00.) This offset printed book by the medical librarian of Louisiana State University adds much new in-

formation on some aspects of its subject and may facilitate the research of specialists through its bibliography and 761 footnotes. "Sympathetic appreciation" of southern traditions has led the author to draw an unrealistic picture of general slave health and medical practices. He relies on manuscript plantation records far more than contemporary travel accounts or newspapers and shies away from harsh evaluations, observing, "It is very difficult to find adverse criticism of the physical care of slaves in travelers' accounts." He finds that "Crude as medical practice was at this time, the planter provided the same care for his slaves as he did for his family." Comparing percentage expenditures for medical care by families, 1935-36, with those by planters for slaves, he claims that "it appears that the planter was spending as much as, and in many cases more than, families are spending today [1951] for medical care." He divided medical disbursements by total disbursements in each case, but a check of two of his five plantation sources shows that one plantation "family" of slaves totaled one hundred and another at least several hundred. The result is a mathematical absurdity (p. 73). Postell equates days of work lost through sickness by slaves with urban figures, 1935-36, without inquiring how sick a slave had to be to become a "lost day" statistic (pp. 147-51). Comments by Olmstead about slave cabins on two atypical plantations are converted into generalizations applying to three states (p. 45). His final conclusion is, "The over-all picture of slave health is simply a picture of health conditions in the United States, and their health status was no better and no worse than that of the populace as a whole for that period." Is this even true of the slaves belonging to what Hofstadter called in attacking the methodology of U. B. Phillips "the upper crust of the upper crust" (*Journal of Negro History*, XXIX, 119)? Postell's boycott of the attitudes and historical contributions of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was disastrous. It facilitated his omission of the point made by Pickard and Buley in *The Midwest Pioneer: His Ills, Cures, and Doctors* (p. 289), a conclusion invalid for plantation slaves: "At all times the pioneer reserved the sovereign right to try to make the science of medicine conform to his concept of democracy, to criticize, complain, refuse to regulate, do his own doctoring or none at all." It must be said regretfully that this volume's sources are not well rounded, that its methodology is inadequate, and that its major conclusions are not necessarily valid.

VAUGHN D. BORNET, *Stanford University*

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA. Volume I, SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE.

By *Daniel Walker Hollis*. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1951, pp. xii, 343, \$3.50.) The first volume of the projected sesquicentennial history of the University of South Carolina carries the story from the founding in 1801 to the disruption in 1862. To the considerable body of literature dealing in one way or another with this institution, Mr. Hollis has added his own serious investigation and synthesized the whole into a clear, concise, and not uncritical study. If the net result is to confirm and document what has previously been reported rather than to add significantly to our knowledge, it is perhaps because of the limits the author has set. This book is essentially a history of the administration of the college. Budgets, appointments, and construction programs are carefully related, and the author deals knowledgeably with the effects on the college of migration of power from one set of pressure groups to another. He has done a thorough job of tracing these shifts, but his conclusions should surprise no one. The waxing power of the upcountry Presbyterians and the progressive hardening of taboos relating to constitutional and racial questions are familiar themes. The intellectual life of the college is not so competently treated. The author's conceptual framework is inadequate and his acquaintance with contemporary practices in higher education is evidently limited. The rich potentialities of the subject

are never fully exploited. The distinction of the faculty and the prominence in ante-bellum South Carolina of alumni and officers of the state college all suggest the imperative need for a careful analysis of this enterprise of learning. The fundamental question is whether the college was a dynamic force in crystallizing values in that particularist culture or merely a passive agency that adjusted itself to the changing temper of the society that supported it. The author's approach to this difficult problem is confused and his resolution of it ambiguous. THOMAS LEDUC, *Oberlin College*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

NEW MEXICO: A PAGEANT OF THREE PEOPLES. By *Erna Fergusson*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, pp. xii, 408, vi, \$5.00.) Erna Fergusson, one of New Mexico's most distinguished writers, has interpreted her native state, its land and people, as has no one else. Brought up with the dust and wind and color of New Mexico's mesas and mountains in her veins, Miss Fergusson writes with a touch of the artist's skill and the scholar's insight into the complex forces that have made New Mexico what it is. She knows the land from travel and study; and she knows its people from living among them and observing their customs with keenness and alertness. The author divides the work into three distinct parts reflecting the cultural heritage of Indian, Spaniard, and gringo. By this division there emerges a clear-cut picture of the racial groups that have inhabited the New Mexico scene. Part One, which is devoted to the Indian, consists of nine chapters. In these we find a general introduction to the establishment of Indian society in the Southwest and of its development through the ages. Particular descriptions are given of the Pueblos, who inhabit the Rio Grande Valley, and to the Apaches and Navajos, whose chief habitat is in western and northwestern New Mexico but who spill across into the contiguous areas in Arizona. Miss Fergusson treats the history of each group succinctly, discusses their relations with the United States government, and includes an account of their adjustment to society in the twentieth century, an adjustment that has been long delayed because of the persistence of native customs and the reluctance of the "European" elements to mix with them. The effect of two world wars, and the distant military camps and war factories of all kinds into which the younger Indians flocked in increasing numbers, have, however, broken down old barriers and opened new vistas of opportunity for these people. After the Indian had established himself in the land and lived there for centuries, the intruding Spaniard came, with his zest for gold and conversion. There was the Coronado exploration of the 1540's, settlement of the colony under Oñate, reconquest by Vargas nearly a century later after a great Pueblo revolt, and thereafter a steady growth of Spanish society, European in every respect, but isolated nearly a thousand miles from any other colony. This isolation prohibited easy

communication with other parts of the empire and left its imprint on New Mexico and her people. With the collapse of the Spanish Empire and the westward sweep of manifest destiny, the gringo entered New Mexico. This story is Part Three of the book. The gringo was at first largely "Anglo," and that term was used to denote every non-Spaniard or non-Indian. Miss Fergusson prefers the term gringo, however, a change that has merit in view of the varied racial intermixture of the people who have come to the territory since the American invasion of 1846. In this third part, we find the mountain men of the fur-trading days, the soldiers of Kearney and his army, migration of Texans to the higher and cooler ground of New Mexico, and chapters on mining, stock raising, water, artists, and the influx of "federal men" with the development of military bases, conservation, and atomic projects in New Mexico's vast domain. *New Mexico: A Pageant of Three Peoples* is a delightful, informative, and authoritative book. It is a splendid introduction to the newcomer to the Southwest and a pleasant and satisfying companion to one who may have lived long in the area.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND, *University of California, Berkeley*

STEAMBOATS IN THE TIMBER. By *Ruby El Hult*. (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1952, pp. 209, \$4.00.) *Steamboats in the Timber* is the story of several of the more picturesque phases of pioneering development in the Coeur d'Alene district of northwest Idaho. The small inland lake of Coeur d'Alene, which with its two principal tributaries was navigable by small steamboats and rafts, was the center of successive booms in mining, timber, and, more briefly, railroad construction. The mining boom got under way in the early 1880's and the ensuing rush of thousands of prospectors to the region led to the introduction of a few steamboats, a lively traffic in passengers and supplies, and the rise of several lusty mining communities. The short-lived gold rush was followed by the far more substantial, if less spectacular, growth of silver mining which provided a prosperous business for the lake boats until the completion in 1890 of a direct rail connection to the mining district by the Northern Pacific quickly wiped out the water traffic in ore and supplies. The large-scale exploitation of the timber lands of the Coeur d'Alene area began in the closing years of the century and by 1904 the mills of one lumber town alone were turning out a half million board feet a day. Log driving assumed large proportions on the short rivers which tapped the rich timber country of the hinterland. A lesser boom to business and steamboat traffic came with the location and construction through the district of the Pacific Coast branch of the Milwaukee Railroad. The purpose of the author, a journalist of some experience, is not to exhaust the subject but to interest and, perhaps, amuse the casual reader. It should be of particular interest to those living in or familiar with the Coeur d'Alene area. If the role of the steamboat in the economic development of the district is somewhat overplayed, water traffic does provide a convenient thread on which to string the several episodes recounted here. The material is rather loosely organized and the style at times is trivially anecdotal. Yet the story is pleasantly readable and the author has succeeded well in accomplishing her limited objective. There is no bibliography and only a dozen footnote references, all told; but the volume is handsomely illustrated with some forty photographs and an excellent fold-in map.

LOUIS C. HUNTER, *American University*

TRAIL DRIVING DAYS. Text by *Dee Brown*. Picture research by *Martin F. Schmitt*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952, pp. xxii, 264, \$7.50.) Old-time saloons in the cattle country often displayed the long horns of Texas cattle, carefully steamed and stretched to unnatural lengths. The first page of illustrations in this pictorial history reproduces a photograph of live cattle with horns as unnatural as the saloon

specimens. Your reviewer would like more research on this picture. He suspects some early-day photographer of retouching it for the same reason that the saloon horns were distorted—a provocative commentary on what the public has long demanded of the wild and woolly West. In this book 228 other pertinent pictures have been gathered for arm-chair riders interested in the plains cattle industry prior to the turn of the century. A few are drawings and paintings but the book's value, as well as its charm, will be found in the numerous photographs of cattlemen engaged in their lonely, dangerous, picturesque work. Many of these snapshots have been reproduced before but nowhere, to your reviewer's knowledge, have so many been corralled in one volume. The illustrations, together with some 185 pages of text, describe the development of range cattle trails on the plains. These routes were closely associated with the building of our transcontinental railroads. The cattle-shipping towns in turn developed famous western law-enforcing officers whose energy and integrity added to the cowboys' trail song a new stanza beginning, "Oh, I woke up broken-hearted in the old Dodge City jail." A few big operators like Charles Goodnight, Joseph McCoy, Samuel Maverick, H. H. Campbell, and Murdo Mackenzie are singled out, with their outfits, for special treatment. John Chisum and Jesse Chisholm are differentiated properly. The Lincoln County War is outlined satisfactorily in six and a half pages. A hitherto unpublished picture of Billy the Kid is given the full page it deserves. The 1866 drive up the forbidden Bozeman Trail and the often neglected eastward trail from Oregon are mentioned briefly. Theodore Roosevelt and his neighbor on the Little Missouri, the marquis de Mores, receive due attention. A reader looking at these pictures must be struck with the difference in facial expression of cowboys in the 1890's and today—as unmistakable as the difference between a reservation Indian and a "wild" savage. Modern cowboys appear to be cleaner looking, more intelligent and tolerant individuals but their faces lack the unconquerable granite arrogance of the earlier generation which could stare, without blinking, into the camera lens of the 1890's. Here in dramatic pictures the pioneers of a free country-with-a-future are separated by only a few pages from the residents of a fenced country-with-a-past. This volume will interest all students of the West. Minor errors should be corrected in later printings, and an index would add materially to the book's usefulness.

JAY MONAGHAN, *Huntington Library*

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James S. Cunningham

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American Historical Association

The following item is the required official notice to all members of the American Historical Association that at the business meeting in December the Council will present an amendment to Section I of Article III of the Constitution. This amendment, duly approved by the Council, proposes changes in the annual dues, life membership, and the establishment of a reduced fee for graduate students. The proposals stem from a consideration by the Council of the Association's finances and obligations. All expenses in the normal operation of the Association have increased, some of them sharply. The profits from the *Review* have declined. Major committees, for example the nominating committee, have not been able to meet. The allotment of funds from the Smithsonian will cover the printing of a brief annual report and *Writings on American History* but not the important Matteson consolidated index of all volumes of the *Writings* to 1940. It is presumed that a successor to the present Executive Secretary cannot be secured at less than twice the present salary item. The salaries of other members of the staff must be reviewed from time to time with some regard to prevailing salaries and living costs in Washington. No forward planning is possible on the present budget. It is well known to the members of the Association that similar organizations have increased their dues in recent years, some by percentages higher than those proposed in the following Council recommendation, which was drafted by a committee consisting of Paul Knaplund, chairman, Leo Gershoy, and Joseph R. Strayer. If adopted, it will go into effect immediately:

Any person approved by the Council may become an active member of the Association. Active membership shall date from the receipt by the Treasurer of the first payment of dues, which shall be \$7.50 a year or a single payment of \$150 for life. Any graduate or undergraduate student registered in a college or university may become a junior member of the Association upon payment of four dollars and after the first year may continue as such, as long as he is registered as a student, by paying the annual dues of four dollars.

Consular reports to the Department of State indicate that members of learned societies traveling abroad would find letters of accreditation from their societies useful. Such a letter will be given members of the American Historical Association on application to the Executive Secretary with an indication of the applicant's itinerary.

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has acquired a group of manuscripts supplementing the papers of William Short, diplomat and private secretary to Thomas Jefferson.

This addition of Short and Henry Family Papers (1786-1860) consists of eighty-seven items, among them the letters of Robert Pryor Henry (1781-1824) relating to his term as member of Congress from Kentucky from 1823 to his death in 1826. Three letters of Henry Clay to Dr. John F. Henry of Chillicothe, Ohio, written during 1827 relate primarily to public affairs. Many of the other letters are on family matters and conditions in Kentucky during those years.

The papers of Leland Harrison, career diplomat, have come to the Library through the generosity of Mrs. Harrison. Much of the material relates to the Peace Conference of 1919—Harrison was diplomatic secretary to the American Commission—and to his long diplomatic service in various posts. Harrison was minister to Switzerland in the crucial period just before and during World War II.

Mrs. Charles L. McNary has presented to the Library a considerable group of the papers of Charles L. McNary, justice of the Supreme Court of Oregon from 1913 to 1915, United States senator from 1917 to the time of his death in 1944, minority leader during the last twelve years of that service, and vice presidential candidate in 1940. The collection includes correspondence, memorandums, bills, resolutions, and speeches, relating mainly to McNary's years of service in the Senate.

Mrs. Harold L. Ickes has donated the personal papers of the late Secretary of the Interior. It is a large collection, numbering over 150,000 items, and is, for the time being, restricted. The papers date from about 1907 to 1951 and include Mr. Ickes' correspondence, articles, and speeches reflecting his work as a lawyer in Chicago, his activities in early municipal reform and in national politics, and his noted service as the head of the Department of the Interior.

The papers of Sydney Howard Gay, antislavery editor and American historian, have been placed in the Harvard College Library by his heirs. A long series of letters written by James Russell Lowell when Gay was editor of the *American Anti-Slavery Standard* comprise the first portion of the collection. Many of these are unpublished. Also included in the gift are Lowell's manuscripts of verse and prose contributions to the *Standard*, including the greater part of the first series of *The Biglow Papers*. Other important manuscripts included in the Gay Papers are: letters of war correspondents with the armies of both the North and the South during the Civil War, written to Gay as managing editor and chief aide to Horace Greeley on the New York *Tribune*; letters of many famous contemporaries written to Gay while he was on the *Standard*, on the *Tribune*, and later on the Chicago *Tribune* with Joseph Medill and on the New York *Post* with William Cullen Bryant; the papers of the pre-Revolutionary leader of the American colonies, James Otis, Sr., of James Otis, Jr., and of Brig. Gen. Joseph Otis, appointed by Washington during the Revolution; some of Gay's personal journals and the source material for his four-volume work, *A Popular History of the United States*, published in 1876-81. A collection of Gay's own letters is in the Library of Congress.

Henry Holt and Company, book publishing firm founded in 1866, has presented its complete files to the Princeton University Library. The collection contains over 400,000 letters and documents.

The Canadian Library Association (46 Elgin Street, Ottawa, Canada) has issued a catalogue of the microfilms of Canadian newspapers made between 1948 and 1951. In addition, the committee in charge of microfilming is co-operating with the Canadian Archives in reproducing rare Canadiana such as letters of Sir John A. MacDonald, the Selkirk papers, the American Fur Company papers, etc. Annual lists will follow for the years after 1951.

Under the auspices of the National Historical Publications Commission a committee has been formed in Virginia under the chairmanship of David J. Mays of Richmond to consider plans for the publication of James Madison's papers. Other members of the committee are Lyman H. Butterfield, director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, and Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., of the University of Virginia.

The history department of the University of Kentucky, with the co-operation of the National Historical Publications Commission, is endeavoring to compile and publish the papers of Henry Clay. Letters both to and by Clay, other materials of which Clay was the author, and particularly significant items about him will be included. Any assistance readers of the *Review* can give in the search for these documents will be appreciated. Professor James F. Hopkins of the University of Kentucky, Lexington, is in charge.

John G. Biel, 316 Star Building, Terre Haute, Indiana, and the Indiana Historical Society Library, wish to locate garrison orderly books of old Fort Harrison, from 1811 to about 1820. Two copies of a 4th Regiment orderly book for this period are known, one in the society's library and the other in the Burton Collection of the Detroit Public Library. News of any other orderly books will be welcomed by Mr. Biel.

The External Research Staff of the Department of State has prepared in mimeograph form a list of research in progress in history and the social sciences. It is arranged by areas. Scholars planning work in areas such as Southeast Asia, the USSR, China, Japan, the Far East, Korea, western Europe, the Near East, or international affairs would do well to consult these very useful lists and to report their own project. Inquiries addressed to the Chief, External Research Staff, Room 602, State Annex No. 1, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C., will be gladly answered.

The eighteenth volume of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*

covering publications for 1949 appeared last December and the nineteenth volume, for 1950, will be published in the near future. Less well known on this side of the Atlantic than in Europe, the *Bibliography* is a selective list of articles and books, and citations of significant reviews, in all fields of history arranged under a rather elaborate system of subject headings. It includes contributions from as many countries as possible, each country's contribution being the responsibility of a national committee. Thirty national committees collaborated in the publication of Volume XVIII. The American Historical Association is responsible for providing the United States entries. The first fourteen volumes of the *Bibliography* appeared during the years 1926-39. Publication was interrupted during the war (1940-46) but was resumed with Volume XVI for 1947. (It is hoped that funds will some day be available to publish Volume XV covering the period from 1940 to 1946.) Pierre Caron, with the assistance of Marc Jaryc until his death in 1943, directed the publication of Volumes I through XVI. After his resignation because of ill health, Dr. Jirina Sztachova, who had worked with M. Caron on Volume XVI, was appointed editor for Volumes XVII and XVIII. The *Bibliography* is under the general supervision of the Bibliographical Commission of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, which, as reorganized during the Ninth International Congress last year, is composed of representatives from France, Germany, Poland, the United States (Dr. Solon J. Buck), England, Italy, and Sweden. Resumption of publication after the war was made possible by the assistance of UNESCO. Information concerning the price of each volume and the 10 per cent reduction allowed for the purchase of the whole collection may be obtained from the Librairie Armand Colin, 103, Boulevard Saint-Michel, Paris V. The Bibliographical Commission will welcome criticisms or suggestions regarding the quality and utility of the *Bibliography* from American scholars to whom it might be of use.

The Mediaeval Academy of America sends the following report of its annual meeting, held in Boston April 25-26, 1952: Announcement of the award of the Haskins Medal to Alexander A. Vasiliev for his book *Justin the First* was made at the annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America. The Haskins Medal is awarded annually for the best scholarly book dealing with the Middle Ages. Professor Vasiliev was elected second vice-president of the Mediaeval Academy for a term of three years. John Nicholas Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island, was re-elected treasurer. Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss of Washington, D.C., Kemp Malone (professor of English at Johns Hopkins), William M. Milliken (director of the Cleveland Art Museum), and B. Wilkinson (professor of history at the University of Toronto) were elected to the Council. Professors Roger S. Loomis of Columbia and Carl Stephenson of Cornell were elected Fellows. Six foreign scholars were elected Corresponding Fellows: Gustave Cohen (France), Alexander J. Denomy (Canada), Joan Evans and Kenneth H. Jackson (Great Britain), Lis Jacobsen (Denmark), and Monsignor Auguste Pelzer (Vatican

City State). The speakers were Professors Helen Maud Cam of Harvard and Radcliffe ("The Old English Franchises and the Quo Warranto Proceedings of the Thirteenth Century"), Robert S. Lopez of Yale ("An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages"), A. J. Denomy of Toronto ("Courtliness and Courtly Love"), and Kenneth J. Conant of Harvard ("The Last Phases of the Cluny Project").

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its annual meeting in Chicago April 17-19. At the annual dinner Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin delivered the presidential address, entitled "The Democratic Theme in American Historical Writing." Officers elected for this year are James L. Sellers, University of Nebraska, president; Fred A. Shannon, University of Illinois, vice-president; and Mrs. Clarence S. Paine continues as secretary-treasurer. The 1953 meeting will be held in Lexington, Kentucky.

The Conference on British Studies (see *AHR*, April, 1952, p. 845) held its first official meeting on April 5 at New York University. About thirty colleges and universities in the northeastern area of the United States were represented. After a brief business meeting presided over by the president, Professor Harold Hulme, Professor Wallace Notestein of Yale read a paper entitled "Some Comments on the Seventeenth-Century English." The fall meeting of the conference will be held in early November.

The eighth annual Institute of International Affairs of the University of Wyoming will be held July 14 to August 15, 1952. The theme this year is "Inside Russia." Among the participants will be Samuel F. Bemis of Yale, Anatole G. Mazour of Stanford, James B. Reston and Harry Schwartz of the *New York Times*, and Alexander Kerensky. Gale W. McGee of the University of Wyoming is chairman.

The 1952 annual meeting of the Economic History Association will be held at Oberlin College, September 12-13. The program has been planned by a committee under the chairmanship of John G. B. Hutchins of Cornell University. Local arrangements and reservations will be made by a committee headed by Thomas LeDuc of Oberlin College.

The program to encourage the study of the United States in Japan carried out during the past two years by Stanford University in co-operation with the University of Tokyo will be extended through 1956 under a grant appropriated by the Rockefeller Foundation. The four-week seminar this summer will be under the chairmanship of George H. Knoles, professor of history at Stanford.

Chauncey S. Boucher, Abraham Lincoln lecturer in American civilization at

Knox College, delivered a series of lectures on April 23 and 30 and May 7 at Knox College entitled "Intimate Glimpses of Five Americans." Professor Boucher retired from Knox College in June.

On March 6 and 7 Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin delivered two lectures at the University of Cincinnati under the auspices of the Charles Phelps Taft Memorial Fund. The titles of the lectures were "The Exportation of American Know-How" and "Prelude to Point Four."

Loren C. MacKinney delivered the inaugural lecture of the J. C. Trent Society of the History of Medicine at the Duke University Medical School, February 19, 1952.

The American Group of the Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des Grandes Bibliothèques de France is being reorganized and is ready to accept members. Information about the purposes of the group, the privileges accorded members, and membership fees may be obtained by writing Professor Casimir D. Zdanowicz, Acting Secretary-Treasurer, 2214 Commonwealth Ave., Madison 5, Wisconsin.

The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation has announced the award of 191 fellowships for 1952-53. This year the average age of Fellows is forty and their ages range from twenty-two to seventy-four years. California leads all states in the number of its residents awarded fellowships, and faculty members of the University of California received more fellowships than the professors of any other institution. Thirty-five Californians were awarded fellowships, and twenty University of California faculty members are on the list. Yale University is next with ten members of its faculty awarded fellowships. The committee of selection consisted of Edgar Anderson, professor of botany in Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri; Henri M. Peyre, professor of French in Yale University; Carl O. Sauer, professor of geography in the University of California, Berkeley; Edwin B. Wilson, retired professor of vital statistics, Harvard University School of Public Health; and Louis B. Wright, director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. Recipients of fellowships include the following scholars in history and related fields: Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California, biographical studies of Fray Junipero Serra, O.F.M., 1713-1784, founder of the California Missions; Douglas Southall Freeman, Richmond, Virginia, the life and times of George Washington; Carl Parcher Russell, superintendent of the Yosemite National Park, California, history of the American West, especially of the trade goods and equipment of fur traders and trappers; Francis Butler Simkins, Longwood College, Farmville, Virginia, Jefferson Davis; Julian Boyd, Princeton University, Thomas Jefferson; Kenneth Milton Stampp, University of California, Berkeley, Negro slavery in the United States, 1820-60;

Gilbert Chinard, Princeton University, European concepts relating to America; John Horace Parry, University College of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, municipal government in the Spanish Indies from the Conquest to independence; Charles Gibson, State University of Iowa, Valley-of-Mexico peoples in colonial times; William H. Jordy, Yale University, effects of the concept of the "City Beautiful" on city planning in the United States; Marvin Chauncey Ross, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, the American soldier and painter, General Seth Eastman; Wallace Stegner, Stanford University, Major John Wesley Powell, founder of the plan of scientific bureaus in the federal government; David Crockett Graham, Wenatchee, Washington, studies of the Ch'iang peoples of southwest China; Ferdinand Diederich Lessing, University of California, Berkeley, Tibetan Buddhist symbolism; Richard Casper Rudolph, University of California, Los Angeles, history of Chinese archaeology; Raymond Adrien de Roover, Wells College, medieval financial history; John Lawrence Thomas, S.J., St. Louis University, cultural pluralism in the United States; Nathan Laselle Whetten, University of Connecticut, rural life in Guatemala; Dan Stanislawski, University of Texas, structure of Portuguese society; Hannah Arendt, Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc., New York City, a study of totalitarian elements in Marxism; Henry M. Pachter, New York correspondent for the *Deutsche Zeitung* of Stuttgart, Germany, recent changes in the social status of the intelligentsia; Lionel Casson, New York University, maritime commerce in Greek and Roman times; Solomon Katz, University of Washington, Bithynia as a client kingdom of the Roman Empire; Brooks Otis, Hobart College, Roman thought; Carl Angus Roebuck, University of Chicago, economic and social development of the Ionian Greeks; Lily Ross Taylor, Bryn Mawr College, Roman politics in the last two centuries of the Republic; William Clarence Askew, Colgate University, relations of Italy with the Great Powers, 1896-1914; George P. Cuttino, Swarthmore College and Bryn Mawr College, history of European culture; Richard Wilder Emery, Queens College, New York, credit and trade in southern France, 1250-1350; Franklin Lewis Ford, Bennington College, history of Strasbourg under the Old Regime; Felix Gilbert, Bryn Mawr College, political and historical ideas in Italy from 1494 to 1530; James Russell Major, Emory University, the Estates General of France; Charles Donald O'Malley, Stanford University, a biographical study of Andreas Vesalius, 1514-64; George R. Coffman, University of North Carolina, a study, centering on John Gower, of the conservative middle class of fourteenth-century England; Kathrine Koller Diez, University of Rochester, relationship between literature and changes in English thought in the seventeenth century; F. Michael Krouse, University of Cincinnati, studies of Milton's part, and that of his adversaries, in the controversies following the execution of Charles I of England; Leonard John Trinterud, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, the rise of Puritanism in England; Alice Sparduti, Smith College, Renaissance literary criticism; René Wellek, Yale University, history of literary criticism; Gay Wilson Allen, New York University, a biographical study of Walt Whitman; James Franklin Beard,

Jr., Dartmouth College, letters and papers of James Fenimore Cooper; Frederick Albert Pottle, Yale University, biographical studies of James Boswell; Henry Caraway Hatfield, Columbia University, the rise of paganism in German literature; Glenn Raymond Morrow, University of Pennsylvania, studies of Plato's laws and of Greek legislation and political tradition; Walter Collins O'Kane, retired Deputy Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of New Hampshire, Durham, beliefs and views of the Hopi Indians; Alexander Spoehr, Chicago Natural History Museum, peoples and cultures of Micronesia.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation has awarded one-year fellowships to 246 men and women engaged in college teaching. Recipients are to spend the year in such a way as to enable them to become better qualified as teachers in their respective fields rather than in research. The general object of the awards is to strengthen liberal education in the United States. The following teachers in history are recipients of fellowships for 1952-53: Raymond H. Fisher, University of California at Los Angeles; Douglas H. Maynard, University of California at Berkeley; Henry Cord Meyer, Pomona College; George K. Tanham, California Institute of Technology; Lloyd Edson Worner, Colorado College; Clifford Laity, Montana School of Mines; Emil Lucki, University of Utah; Donald E. Emerson, University of Washington; John A. Garraty, Michigan State College; Henry B. Hill, University of Wisconsin; Merrill Jensen, University of Wisconsin; Frank L. Klement, Marquette University; James S. Ferguson, Millsaps College; Richard Bardolph, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; Edward O. Guerrant, Davidson College; Lenore R. O'Boyle, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; Eugene E. Pfaff, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; Theodore L. Agnew, Oklahoma A. and M. College; Thomas P. Govan, University of the South; Henry L. Swint, Vanderbilt University; William R. Braisted, University of Texas; Noble M. Rippy, Texas Christian University; Ernest Wallace, Texas Technological College; Carl J. Bode, University of Maryland (department of English); David Spring, Johns Hopkins University; Jane Eleanor Ruby, Smith College; Walter Everett Bezanson, Rutgers University; David Maldwyn Ellis, Hamilton College; Edward Rosen, City College of New York; Louis L. Snyder, City College of New York; Paul Harold Beik, Swarthmore College; Ira Vernon Brown, Pennsylvania State College.

The Social Science Research Council has awarded the following grants-in-aid of research to historians: Selig Adler, University of Buffalo, a study of the neo-isolationist movement, 1918-1929; O. Fritiof Ander, Augustana College, research in Sweden on Swedish immigration and immigrants in the United States; Robert G. Athearn, University of Colorado, W. T. Sherman and Indian policy after the Civil War; Paul H. Beik, Swarthmore College, research in France on political and social philosophies of the French Revolution; Leslie V. Brock, College of Idaho, the currency of the American colonies, 1700-75; David Bushnell, University of

Delaware, research in Colombia on late nineteenth-century Colombian trade and tariff policy; F. Hilary Conroy, University of Pennsylvania, study of materials on Japanese expansion in northeastern Asia; Louis Filler, Antioch College, a study of abolition and reform, 1830-60; Alfred J. Hanna, Rollins College, and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, research in France on French intervention in Mexico, 1861-67; Mark D. Hirsch, High School of Music and Art, New York City, a study of New York City political history from Tweed to LaGuardia; Frank L. Klement, Marquette University, research on midwestern Copperheadism, 1861-65; George E. Lewis, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, further research on Samuel Wharton, Indian trader and land speculator; Alexander Marchant, Vanderbilt University, research in Brazil on relations between the United States and Brazil; Edmund A. Moore, University of Connecticut, research on the church-state issue in the Smith-Hoover campaign; Robert E. Quirk, Indiana University, research in Mexico on the ideology of the Mexican Revolution, 1910-13; Martin Ridge, Westminster College, Pennsylvania, research on the public career of Ignatius Donnelly; Ronald V. Sires, Whitman College, research in England on Liberal reform, 1906-14; George B. Tindall, University of Mississippi, research on the public career of Wade Hampton of South Carolina; William R. Willoughby, St. Lawrence University, research on the politics of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project; Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University, research in England on British labor and the League of Nations. Travel grants for area research have been awarded to: Charles S. Blackton, Colgate University, research in Australia on the development of nationality and loyalty to Empire, 1850-1900; Harold C. Hinton, Georgetown University, research in England on British trade with China; Donald C. McKay, Harvard University, research in Italy on the Risorgimento. Ph.D. candidates who have been awarded area research training fellowships are: Phyllis L. Le Roy, Radcliffe College, research in Southern Rhodesia on its recent political history; Kermit E. McKenzie, Columbia University, research in the United States on world revolution and the Soviet Union in Comintern theory, 1928-43; John M. Thompson, Columbia University, research in the United States on the relations between Russia and the West, 1919-20. Ph.D. candidates awarded research training fellowships are: Thomas M. Gale, University of Pennsylvania, sociological training and research on urbanism, and Robert E. Thomas, Columbia University, research on ratification of the Constitution in Virginia.

Among the fellowships and grants-in-aid announced by the Huntington Library for 1952-53 are: Edmund S. Morgan, Brown University, life of Ezra Stiles; Charles R. Anderson, Johns Hopkins University, civilization in Charleston, S.C.: 1660-1865; Bell Irvin Wiley, Emory University, a history of the Confederacy; Ralph P. Bieber, Washington University, the gold rush to California; A. P. Nasatir, San Diego State College, the French in California; Eugene Keith

Chamberlin, Montana State University, study of political and economic development of Baja California.

Applications for all fellowships and grants-in-aid at the Huntington Library for the academic year 1953-54 should be addressed to the chairman of the fellowship committee not later than January 1, 1953. Applicants should state specifically the field in which they are working and the particular topics they plan to study. The purpose of the fellowships and grants-in-aid is to enable scholars to complete significant research; therefore, no grants will be made for initial or exploratory researches.

Carlton J. H. Hayes was the recipient of the Alexander Hamilton Award of Columbia College for 1952.

The Pulitzer Prizes for history and biography for 1952 have been awarded to Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted* and Merlo J. Pusey's *Charles Evans Hughes*.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Henry Steele Commager, professor of history in Columbia University, has been appointed to the Harmsworth Chair of American History at Oxford University for the academic year 1952-53.

The department of history in Amherst College announces the appointment to its staff of Theodore P. Greene, Walter A. Sedelow, Jr., and John B. Halsted. Edwin C. Rozwenc has been promoted to professor of history.

Basil Rauch has been promoted to a full professorship of history in Barnard College.

Barnaby C. Keeney, dean of the graduate school of Brown University, who has been on leave of absence for government service during the past year, returns to his former post on July 1 and will also assume the duties of acting dean of the College.

Julius W. Pratt, Capen professor of American history and dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Buffalo, will lecture and conduct a seminar in American diplomatic history at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies this summer.

Henry May left Scripps College at the end of the last academic year and will

join the department of history at the University of California, Berkeley, in the fall.

Catherine E. Boyd, associate professor of history in Carleton College, has been granted a leave of absence for the second semester, 1952-53, and will go to Italy for further research in the history of that country.

Joseph C. Robert, professor of history in Duke University, will assume new duties as president of Coker College on August 1.

Edward O. Guerrant, associate professor of history in Davidson College, is teaching in the summer session of the University of Southern California. He will be on leave of absence from Davidson College during 1952-53 and will study recent American foreign policy at the School of International Relations of the University of Southern California.

At Emory University, Bell I. Wiley, professor of history, will be on leave of absence for the academic year 1952-53. Teaching in the summer session are Festus P. Summers of West Virginia University and Joseph O. Baylen of New Mexico Highlands University. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, emeritus professor of history at Princeton, will serve as visiting professor at Emory during the winter quarter of 1953. Samuel R. Gammon, III, has been appointed instructor in history for 1952-53.

R. Homer Norton, chairman of the department of history in Grinnell College, has been elected chairman of the faculty.

Crane Brinton of Harvard University will be on leave of absence in western Europe from the end of July to the first of February, 1953.

Hans Kohn of the City College of New York is teaching in the Harvard University summer school.

Paul F. Sharp of Iowa State College is in Australia on a year's leave of absence as the recipient of a Fulbright award. He is lecturing on American history in the universities of Sydney and Melbourne.

Guido Kisch, research professor of history at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, has been lecturing in Europe during a sabbatical leave of absence for the spring semester, 1952.

Stella R. Clemence has retired as Hispanic manuscripts specialist of the Library

of Congress, and Schafer Williams has been appointed to succeed her. Howard H. Bell, doctoral candidate at Northwestern University, has been appointed accessioner and specialist in American literary and social developments on the staff of the Manuscripts Division.

Allen M. Cline, Proctor professor of American history at Middlebury College, retired at the close of the past academic year.

Arnold Lloyd, a member of this Association, formerly of Wollaton, England, has gone to the University of Natal as professor of education.

Wilbur S. Shepperson has been promoted to assistant professor of history and political science in the University of Nevada.

Elisha P. Douglas, professor of history at Elon College, has been appointed assistant professor of American history at the University of North Carolina, beginning September 1, 1952.

At North Carolina State College, Stuart Noblin has been promoted to the rank of associate professor, and Charles F. Kolb and Marvin L. Brown, Jr., have been promoted to the rank of assistant professor.

Albert Norman, assistant professor of history in Norwich University, is teaching in the summer session of the College of the City of New York.

Sidney G. Morse, has been promoted from assistant professor to a professorship of history in Norwich University and has been named head of the department of social sciences to succeed Kemp R. B. Flint, who retired in June after forty-five years of service.

Howard Robinson of Oberlin is concluding a year's leave of absence during which he was a Fulbright lecturer in Australia.

Kenneth F. Millsap, formerly with the State Historical Society of Iowa, has accepted a position as head of the Mid-American Heritage Foundation at Parsons College at Fairfield, Iowa.

Roy F. Nichols has been elected dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania. He will take office on September 15.

At Princeton University, Walter Phelps Hall has retired, and Robert R. Palmer has succeeded him as Dodge professor of history. Julian P. Boyd, formerly

librarian, has been made a full professor of history, and Jerome Blum, assistant professor of history, has been named James Madison preceptor.

The Center for Research on World Political Institutions in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University has appointed three more historians: Martin Lichterman, formerly instructor in history at the Newark College of Rutgers University; Sidney E. Burrell, lecturer at Barnard College, from which he will take leave of absence for one year; and Raymond E. Lindgren, associate professor of history in Vanderbilt University.

Selig Adler, associate professor of history in the University of Buffalo, has been granted a leave of absence to teach at the University of Rochester during the academic year 1952-53.

Edward White of Stanford University has accepted an appointment in the department of history at Scripps College.

The summer school faculty at Stanford University includes Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago, Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania, and John S. Curtiss of Duke University.

C. Easton Rothwell has been named director of Stanford University's Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution, and Peace. Harold H. Fisher will continue as chairman of both the institute and library and will pursue his research on two documentary studies of Soviet foreign policy from 1920.

At the University of Toledo, Duane D. Smith has been promoted to professor of history and named chairman of the department, succeeding Andrew J. Townsend, who will continue as a member of the department and will serve as dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. Willard A. Smith has been promoted to associate professor of history.

Walter B. Posey of Emory University and Agnes Scott College and Ruth Scarborough of Shepherd College are teaching at West Virginia University during the summer session.

Harold M. Helfman, formerly of Ohio State University, has been appointed director of the field program in the Office of Command Historian of Headquarters, Air Research and Development Command, Baltimore.

RECENT DEATHS

Albert Beebe White, professor emeritus of history in the University of Minnesota, died on May 10. He had apparently recovered from a major operation last

summer and his death now was sudden and unexpected. He was in his eighty-first year. Professor White was born in Holbrook, Massachusetts. From the Boston Latin School he went to Yale for his undergraduate work receiving his bachelor's degree in 1893. After four years of teaching in preparatory schools he began graduate work in the University of Leipzig and attained his doctorate at Yale in 1898. Under the influence of George Burton Adams his interest had been turned to English constitutional history and from that interest he never deviated. The man and all his work are marked by conscientious care and temperate judgment. No man on the staff at Minnesota was held in higher respect. The appreciation of students for his clear exposition and high standards was a tribute that increased with the years, for, to many, English constitutional history under Mr. White was the most rewarding course in their undergraduate years. Mr. White was the author of *The Making of the English Constitution* (last edition, 1925), *Source Problems in English History* (with Wallace Notestein), and a most suggestive little volume, *Self-Government by the King's Command*. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and a life member of this Association, having first joined in 1897. He was a valued contributor of articles and reviews to this periodical. It was his wish that he be buried beside his New England forebears. He was throughout his life a bit of Massachusetts on loan to Minnesota.

Arthur Charles Howland, Henry Charles Lea emeritus professor of medieval history at the University of Pennsylvania and curator of the Henry Charles Lea Library, died on March 29, 1952, at the age of eighty-two. Born in the northern part of New York, he was educated at Cornell, and received his Ph.D. degree at the University of Pennsylvania after studying at Leipzig and Göttingen. After brief service at the University of Illinois and at Teachers College, he joined the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania in 1904. In 1934 he became Henry Charles Lea professor and served until his retirement in 1940. Since that time he has been actively at work as curator of the Henry Charles Lea Library. As Lea professor and curator he edited and published the three volumes of Lea's *Materials toward a History of Witchcraft* (1939) and collected and edited the *Minor Writings of Henry Charles Lea* (1942). Earlier in his career he was active in managing the university's series, "Translations and Reprints from Historical Sources." He was a gifted teacher who had a great capacity for making the Middle Ages live both to graduates and undergraduates. He was a very kindly man, much interested in his students, and they found in him a sympathetic adviser. The University of Pennsylvania conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters in 1940.

Andrew Fish, professor emeritus of history in the University of Oregon, died at his home in Claremont, California, on March 21, 1952, after a lingering illness.

Professor Fish was born in 1880 at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, received his early education in British schools and at the University of London, and entered the Protestant ministry. He came to Canada shortly before World War I, and later moved to Eugene, Oregon, where he served as pastor of the Unitarian Church. He received the B.A. degree from the University of Oregon in 1920 and the M.A. in 1921; further work at Clark University brought him the Ph.D. degree in history in 1923. From 1920 to 1923 Professor Fish was assistant professor of English at the University of Oregon. After his return from Clark, he became assistant professor of history, in which department he rose to the rank of full professor in 1940. After his retirement in 1947, he taught history for two years at the University of Washington, and for one quarter at the University of Utah.

Professor Fish served for two years (1943-45) as president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Although he taught English history, his specialty was a course dealing with the great historians. In this field he read a number of papers at meetings of the Pacific Coast Branch, two of which were published in the *Pacific Historical Review*. He was a stimulating teacher and conversationalist, and possessed a gift for trenchant writing. He will be remembered as a much loved friend by those who knew him best, and as a true gentleman and scholar by all who came in contact with him.

Everett E. Edwards, historian in the Department of Agriculture, died May 1 of a heart ailment. His health had been precarious for the last two years but to the limit of his powers he had kept steadily at his appointed tasks. Mr. Edwards was fifty-two years old. Born in Minnesota he graduated from Carleton College in 1921 and took his master's degree at Harvard in 1924. He taught in the public schools of Minnesota and in Northwestern University before joining the staff of the Department of Agriculture twenty-five years ago. He served also as a professor of agricultural history in the graduate school of American University. He was active in forming the Agricultural History Society and founded and edited its periodical. He was also the author of many bibliographies, government reports, and articles in professional periodicals. He was a member not only of this Association but of many learned state and national organizations for promoting historical work and archival economy. Quiet, modest, well-poised, and scholarly, he served faithfully in the discharge of the many responsibilities he was asked to assume. His name had become almost synonymous with the field of his special interest, American agricultural history.

The American Historical Association lost a very distinguished member in the death of John Dickinson April 9. Mr. Dickinson, a direct descendant of the signer of the Declaration of Independence, had made a name for himself in the fields of law, jurisprudence, and history. He received his bachelor's degree from the Johns Hopkins University and his doctor's degree from Princeton and taught

history at Amherst and Harvard before taking his degree in law at Harvard. After five years' practice in California he returned to teaching at Princeton and later in the law school of the University of Pennsylvania. His intellectual interests were unusually broad. In history he was learned in the medieval field to which he made several useful contributions. He left a partly finished manuscript on the history of political theory. He will be chiefly remembered as a public servant, a great lawyer, and a very gracious person who bore modestly the many honors that came to him. At the time of his death, at the age of fifty-eight, he was chief counsel and vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Belatedly, but for reasons beyond its control, the *Review* chronicles the death on June 15, 1951, of Julian P. Bretz, professor emeritus of history in Cornell University. Professor Bretz retired from teaching in 1944 and was in his seventy-fifth year at the time of his death. Practically his whole teaching career following his doctorate from Chicago in 1906 was spent at Cornell. He was chairman of the history department and well known to older members of the profession, having served on the Council and the Executive Committee of the Association. His interest was in his teaching. His modesty, good judgment, and pleasant personality made him a valued adviser whether to students or to his colleagues.

Sydney MacGilvary Brown, professor of history at Duquesne University since 1947, died April 6 at the age of fifty-six. A graduate of Bowdoin College (1916) and Oxford (1921), Dr. Brown earned his M.A. from Oxford in 1927 and returned as a Rhodes Scholar to get his Ph.D. from the same university in 1937. Before going to Duquesne, he had taught at Lehigh University as assistant professor of European history (1923-25), associate professor (1925-30), and professor (1930-41), and had served in both world wars. He was author of several textbooks on medieval history and at the time of his death was preparing a translation and commentary on the Register of Visitations of Eude Rigaud for the "Records of Civilization" series of Columbia University, and had contracted to write two other books in the field of medieval history.

John Schwartz, professor emeritus of history in Bowling Green State University, died on March 13 at the age of seventy-four. Dr. Schwartz had served the university from 1923 until his retirement. He had been a member of this Association since 1910.

Louis Bréhier, emeritus professor in the university of Clermont-Ferrand and member of the Institut, died in Reims, October 13, 1951, at the age of eighty-three. Many volumes and a still larger number of articles bear witness to his tireless activity and careful scholarship in the fields of Byzantine and Western religion, art, and history. The best known books are *Le Schisme oriental du xi^e*

siècle (1899), *La querelle des images* (1904), *L'Eglise et l'Orient: les croisades* (1907; 5th ed., 1928), *L'art chrétien et son développement iconographique* (1918), *L'art en France des invasions barbares à l'époque romane* (1930), *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins* (1936), and *Le style roman* (1941). He continued to the last to work and attend conventions of scholars. It was granted him to crown a long, honest life by publishing a three-volume synthesis, *Le monde byzantin* (1948-50), in Henri Berr's monumental "L'évolution de l'humanité." Emile Bréhier, younger brother of Louis Bréhier and also of the Sorbonne, died recently. He was author of many books and articles, the most important of which was his *Histoire de la philosophie* (Paris, 1935-40).

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Owing to a year's absence in Europe, I have only now been able to read Mr. Milton V. Anastos' review of my book *Sacred Fortress* in the *AHR* (LVI [October, 1950], 173 f.). Every one of his quotations or summaries of passages in my text are either false or misleading and I may be permitted to set the record straight.

Mr. Anastos claims that my attempt to interpret the San Vitale mosaics in the light of theopaschite theology is "based solely on the lack of a Crucifixion. . . . But the Crucifixion is of the utmost rarity in the monumental art of the period; and its omission from the apse, where von Simson says it ought to appear, should occasion no surprise whatever. What is surprising is that although von Simson considers San Vitale to be dominated by the Theopaschite point of view simply because it has no Crucifixion, he dubs the Passion cycle in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo Arian or Nestorian despite its apparently deliberate avoidance of this subject."

Here is what I say in the passage "quoted" by Mr. Anastos: "The iconography of the Passion and the Crucifixion in the sixth century and the extreme rarity of such representations in that period have their cause undoubtedly in those theological views. It is noteworthy that the many mosaics of Ravenna depict the Passion of Christ but once; in S. Apollinare Nuovo; and these mosaics are almost certainly Arian in origin. In S. Vitale, the emphasis on the eucharistic motif seems to render the representation of the sacrifice on Calvary inevitable. Instead this event is no more than alluded to in the O.T. scenes. . . . And in the apse, not the Son of Man but the Second Person of the Trinity is depicted in the awe-inspiring majesty of the Second Epiphany."

I think every one of Mr. Anastos' aforementioned charges is repudiated by this quotation, except that of my having "dubbed" the S. Apollinare cycle "Arian or Nestorian." Besides acknowledging the view, now generally held, that the mosaics are "almost certainly Arian in origin," I stress the fact that they point stylistically, iconographically, and theologically to Rome. This is what I say: "the very contrast [between the Miracle and Passion cycles] is like an illustration of the distinctness of the two natures which Leo the Great had stressed. To Byzantine eyes such a distinction must have been indistinguishable from Nestorianism . . . the mosaics in S. Apollinare are Roman in inspiration."

Mr. Anastos asserts that I have sought to connect S. Vitale with the Byzantine

liturgy but that my "principal texts are found only in Latin liturgies." In point of fact I state that the liturgy of Ravenna "seems to have united certain features of the Ambrosian and Gallican rites with elements of the Byzantine liturgy." These Byzantine elements I subsequently identify as the oblation of the Emperor (I do not know which of the Latin texts I have quoted refers, in Mr. Anastos' opinion, to this exclusively Byzantine rite) and the prayers of intercession on behalf of the Emperor which, in a detailed and cautious investigation, I have sought to link with the imperial offertory. What matters within the context of my argument is less the wording of these prayers than the fact of their existence in the sixth century. However, I do quote from the liturgy of John Chrysostom (though acknowledging its later origin) and from that of Alexandria which is known to have contained prayers on behalf of the Emperor since the fourth century (and which even Mr. Anastos will hardly call "Latin").

Mr. Anastos observes that my interpretation of the episodes from the life of Moses (in S. Vitale) leans heavily on Cosmas Indicopleustes "without taking account of the apposite material on the same head in Augustine, Cassiodorus, and other Latin writers." It is quite true that the Moses exegesis is in many respects the same in the East as in the West. It is the figure of Moses the Shepherd, however, so remarkably isolated and emphasized both in the mosaic and in the illumination of the Vatican Cosmas that directed my attention to Greek exegesis. The interpretation of Moses the Shepherd as an allusion to his monarchical calling, of great significance for my thesis, occurs first in Philo of Alexandria and is adapted by Eastern theologians, including Cosmas. I should be grateful to Mr. Anastos if he would refer me to a relevant passage in either Augustine or Cassiodorus.

Mr. Anastos takes me to task for overlooking the "striking resemblance" between the S. Vitale version of Abraham and the Three Angels and its counterpart in S. Maria Maggiore. The resemblance is not as striking as he would have us believe, but I have myself called the presence of the theme in both cycles "noteworthy."

"Still worse," according to the reviewer, is my conclusion that the great mosaic showing Justinian and Maximian can have been commissioned only under this bishop rather than under his predecessor Ecclesius, since to the latter "Byzantium would not have conceded so prominent a place." My central thesis in this chapter is that, contrary to prevailing opinion, the entire program of mosaics was planned and executed under Maximian and reflects his political aspirations. (This thesis, which in the meantime has been corroborated by F. W. Deichmann, at present the foremost authority on S. Vitale, is ignored by Mr. Anastos.) Had the great double portrait of Emperor and Bishop originally shown Ecclesius in the place of Maximian, my interpretation would have been invalidated since only Maximian was an exponent of Justinian's policy. The conventional honor bestowed elsewhere on the deceased Ecclesius as founder of the church does not affect my interpretation of the dedication mosaic.

Mr. Anastos concludes that I indulge "in loose generalizations [fall] frequently into self-contradiction, and often [fail] to provide adequate documentation." This harsh opinion is not shared by other critics. It makes strange reading in a review that contains almost a dozen errors on a single page and presents an uninterrupted sequence of false or inaccurate quotations in order to back up its charges.

University of Chicago

OTTO G. VON SIMSON

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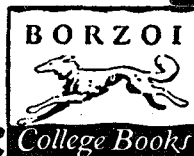
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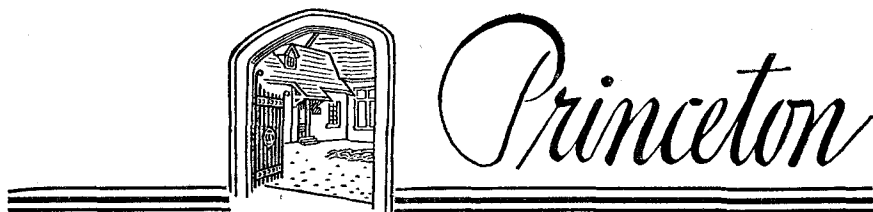
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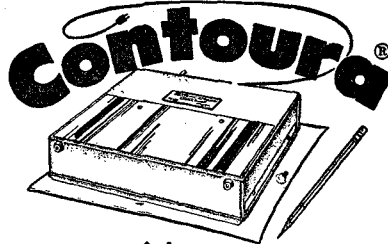
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